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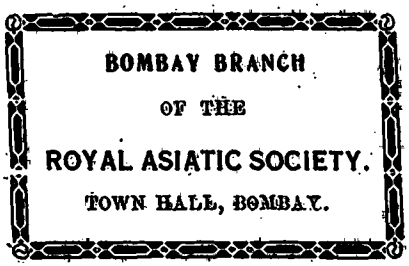

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CORRESPONDENCE

OF

JOHN, FOURTH DUKE OF BEDFORD:

SELECTED FROM

THE ORIGINALS AT WOBURN ABBEY.

WITH

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ac

AN INTRODUCTION,

BY LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

VOL. II.

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INTRODUCTION.

The correspondence contained in this volume relates to the period from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the death of George II. I have inserted in the course of the volume notices of the events which led to the resignation by the Duke of Bedford of the office of Secretary of State, and of the intrigues and cabals which, after several turns of fortune, produced in 1757 the junction of Newcastle and Pitt. Some remarks in illustration of the character of the Duke of Bedford, and of the times in which he lived, have been reserved for this place.

Since the first volume was published, my attention has been called to a passage in Lord Mahon's instructive work, on the History of England from the peace of Utrecht, relating to the Duke of Bedford's acceptance of the office of Secretary of State at the commencement of the year 1748. The passage is as follows: —

"It was Newcastle's desire that the vacant post might be filled by Lord Sandwich; but a superior cabal in the

cabinet bestowed it upon the Duke of Bedford, a cold-hearted, hot-headed man, more distinguished by rank and fortune than by either talent or virtue. Sandwich, however, succeeded Bedford as head of the Admiralty, and was likewise despatched as plenipotentiary to Aix-la-Chapelle."

The first remark I have to make upon this passage is, that, from want of information, Lord Mahon totally misapprehends the nature of the change which took place in the ministry. The Duke of Bedford was not the rival, but the friend and patron, of Lord Sandwich: it was his wish to see Lord Sandwich Secretary of State. But Lord Sandwich was considered by Mr. Pelham, the Prime Minister, as a partisan of war; and he was personally disagreeable to the King, on account of a speech in the House of Lords regarding Hanover. In order to solve the difficulty, Lord Anson proposed that the Duke of Bedford should take the Seals, and Lord Sandwich be placed at the head of the Board of Admiralty. This was a change which Lord Sandwich wished, and to which the Duke of Bedford consented, chiefly out of regard to his friend. Mr. Pelham was satisfied, and he found in effect that the Duke of Bedford was more inclined to peace than Lord Sandwich. To call the King and the Prime Minister, together with a majority of the ministers of the Crown, "a superior

cabal in the cabinet," would be a strange use of terms; to represent the Duke of Bedford as the favourite candidate of the persons who opposed Lord Sandwich, would be a gross error.

But Lord Mahon describes the Duke of Bedford as "a hot-headed, cold-hearted man, more distinguished by rank and fortune than by either talent or virtue!"

This short and very unjust character of the Duke of Bedford, which cannot be attributed to any desire in Lord Mahon to misrepresent, shows the strong impression made by the Letters of Junius on the intelligent writers and readers of the present day. That the Duke of Bedford was "hot-headed" cannot indeed be denied, but he appears to have been one of the warmest-hearted men who engaged in that age in political warfare. His attachment to his friends often led him to adopt a course which his own judgment would have rejected, and his love of his family and home afforded but too much scope to his enemies to complain of his neglect of public business.

In fact, the Duke of Bedford seems to have rode through the muddy ways of his age with as little of soil to his personal integrity as any man. Nor were the general views which he took on questions of foreign policy and constitutional government wanting in sagacity or in patriotism.

But he had not the masterly genius of Chatham, nor did he supply the defects of his natural abilities by a study sufficiently assiduous of the great questions of his day. The last branch of Lord Mahon's sentence is taken from a character of the Duke of Bedford, by Lord Chesterfield. Lord Chesterfield was as a man of the world very successful, but as a statesman had very little weight. The Duke of Bedford succeeded Lord Chesterfield as Secretary of State, and showed a discretion in promoting peace, in which his predecessor, with the same object, had been wanting.

On the formation of the Ministry of the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Bedford accepted the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. His government as a Viceroy was marked by his characteristic merits and faults.

The Parliament of that country was a jobbing aristocracy, banded into different parties, without much, if any, distinction of principle. The English Government used their patronage to purchase a majority. But the mouths of one party were no sooner stopped by pensions and places, than another rose to complain of profusion in the name of their country, and to ask for new extravagance in their own. A fresh purchase only led to fresh pretensions, and the very pensioners themselves had the effrontery to exclaim against

the burthens of which their own faction and corruption had been the cause.

The Duke of Bedford began his administration with the best intentions. He did not share in the extreme intolerance of the High Protestants, and he wished to govern impartially for the benefit of all. He seems to have imagined that he could rise above all factions, and by keeping the public good in view defeat interested opposition.

He found himself, however, very soon baffled. Some violent resolutions having been passed by the House of Commons, the Duke declined to transmit them without representing to the King at the same time his dissent from their purport, and his disapproval of the language in which they were conveyed. The House of Commons, offended, refused to enter his answer on their Journals, and by adjourning the Money Bill obliged him to transmit purely and simply their resolutions.

It would have been well if this victory of the Commons had been employed to secure any benefit for the people at large; but the rival factions looked to nothing more than obliging their governor to pay for their support. The Duke of Bedford was obliged to endeavour, as the next most desirable object, to reconcile the discordant factions. At first he failed in an attempt to induce Lord Kildare to make up his differences with the Primate,

and assent to a general scheme of conciliation; but when, abandoning these vain hopes of justice and harmony, he turned his attention to the old methods of purchasing the prevailing interests by peerages and pensions, his success was no longer in doubt, and the path of his government became smooth and easy.

Yet the Duke of Bedford did not forget that the House of Commons represented only a small part of the nation, and that the Roman Catholics might be safely indulged in some relaxation of the penal laws and their barbarous penalties.

Even before his acceptance of the Lieutenancy, he had openly avowed that, were he to accept it, he should not govern on the narrow maxims of intolerance and exclusion which had hitherto prevailed. These sentiments were so acceptable to the Catholics that, ten days after his appointment was known, exhortations to tranquillity and obedience were read from the altar in the Catholic chapels of Dublin, in which the hope that had been held out by some honourable persons of a mitigation of the penal laws was noticed, and the blessing of Heaven invoked in favour of so generous a design.

Lord Clanbrassil had, under a former Lord-Lieutenant, prepared a bill for the registration of Roman Catholic priests. He now submitted his scheme to the Duke of Bedford, who, after prevailing

upon him to omit those parts of the bill which had given alarm and offence to the Roman Catholics, brought the matter for consideration before the Privy Council. But the minds of the leading men in the Government were not prepared for even so much of toleration and indulgence. The Primate and the Lord Chancellor, the heads of the Church and of the Law, opposed the measure as repugnant to the laws of England. The Chief Justice and Chief Baron Willes were likewise hostile to the plan; and the latter especially denounced the bill, "because it would prove a toleration of that religion which it had been the general policy of England and of Ireland to persecute and to depress." Sir Thomas Prendergast took the same side.

In opposition to these intolerant and uncharitable views, the Duke of Bedford plainly avowed his own more liberal sentiments: —

"Since he had been implored by those who saw danger in the slightest change upon the side of lenity to reflect upon the number of the Catholics, he must," he said, "admit that they greatly predominated over the Protestants; but he would at the same time fearlessly maintain that, if it could be at all consistent with the peace of society, Christianity and good policy alike required that they should be allowed the exercise of their religious duties. It was his settled maxim that persecution for religious principles only added strength to the sect it was intended to destroy. The truth of this must have been felt by

Government; which, notwithstanding its rigorous array of penal laws, tacitly connived at the rites of the Catholics, and permitted their observance. But neither had this connivance the desired effect in accomplishing the converse of the maxim: for the impossibility of carrying into execution those rigorous laws, framed in direct contravention of it, had naturally emboldened the Catholics to hold them in contempt; and it was in consequence of this derogation of the majesty of the law, that those swarms of regulars came in, which, if danger were the question, were, for obvious reasons, much more likely to prove dangerous to the Government than a secular Popish clergy. He, therefore, was inclined to say, let another mode be tried, in closer consonance with the principle that persecution is not the proper method of putting a stop to religious prejudices.

"By registering the secular clergy of Ireland, you will do away with all the evils of connivance. The priests to whom by licence you grant the exercise of their religion, on taking the oaths to Government, must in charity be believed true and loyal subjects; at all events, they will be then amenable to Government, and having, during their good behaviour, a kind of freehold in their parishes, they will be bound in interest to keep foreign interlopers out, and will be much more responsible than at present for the obedience of their flocks. He was told that it would be establishing Popery by law; but was it not found *de facto* established already? What he desired was to regulate it to a favourable result. Was this a measure so extraordinary? What was the policy of other Protestant states? Holland, Prussia, the King himself, in his German dominions, systematically followed the maxims which he inculcated. But, say the impugners of the bill, there being a pretender to the crown, the case of Britain

is different from theirs. Undoubtedly it was; and for that very reason they ought to come into the measure; for, whilst there was a religious party so strongly, possibly so justly suspected of Jacobitism, it was most incumbent on those who wished well to the present Government to strive by all means to subdue that leaven, which owed its strongest chance of prevalence to the stern severity of the existing laws, and the swarm of foreign clergy that stole in while these were in abeyance.

"These evils would, he thought, be rectified by the projected bill; nor need it seem so startling, for a registry of Catholic priests had been already for a short time admitted without harm: it had dropped at length in consequence of no provision having been made for the succession upon deaths; in the present instance this could be provided against. There could be but little danger in giving it another trial, when the experience of half a century had demonstrated the inefficacy of the present system, and when every principle of sound policy and Christian forbearance did, as he conceived, recommend the exercise of tolerance and liberality."

The result is thus related by Mr. Rigby: "The Popery Bill, as it is called here—I mean Lord Clanbrassil's bill for registering Popish priests—was thrown out this morning in council, after a debate of five hours, by 14 against 12. The Lord-Lieutenant spoke three-quarters of an hour, better than I ever heard him in my life, and to the amazement of the whole board, for the experiment of trying the bill. It was the most motley division, and entirely abstracted from all party connections." Yet the

Duke derived, as he deserved, much strength from the knowledge that he was inclined to loosen the fetters which pressed so hard on the limbs of the Roman Catholics. An address from the Roman Catholic body was drawn up by Dr. O'Connor, agreed to at a public meeting at Dublin, and ordered to be presented to the Lord-Lieutenant by the Speaker of the House of Commons. The address was drawn up in a spirit of devoted loyalty to the throne; and while a relaxation of the penal laws was prayed for, the utmost gratitude was expressed to the Lord-Lieutenant for his wisdom, justice, and moderation. Such has been on repeated occasions the conduct of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. While they have felt acutely the injury and degradation to which they have been subjected by English laws, every relaxation of undue severity and even every dawn of a kinder disposition towards them, has been met by a warmth of gratitude and a zeal of attachment which seem to have no memory for past injuries, and no suspicion of future injustice.

In the midst of a war with France, the loyalty of the most numerous portion of the Irish people could not be a matter of indifference. In October, 1759, the Duke of Bedford received from Mr. Pitt a despatch by a special messenger, informing him that the French were preparing an expedition com-

prising eighteen thousand land troops; and that, if they should escape the vigilance of our fleets, Ireland would probably be one of their chief objects. The Lord-Lieutenant, perceiving that much alarm was caused by the report of the arrival of a special messenger from Mr. Pitt, called his council together, and with their concurrence determined upon summoning Parliament, and acquainting them with the full extent of their danger.

The first effect of this measure was a panic, and the stoppage of two banks; but this mischief was repaired by an association set on foot by the Lord-Lieutenant, which agreed to take in payment the paper of the Dublin banks. The conduct of the Roman Catholics was at this crisis highly gratifying. The Roman Catholics of Cork especially voted an address to their Lord-Lieutenant, in which they declared their determination to oppose the Pretender; thanked the King for the lenity shown to them under his Majesty's mild and auspicious reign; promised to defend his Majesty's person and Government against all invaders whatsoever; and declared that they thought themselves particularly happy to be under the direction and command of so known an asserter of liberty — such an important and distinguished Governor.

The histories of the period in question may be consulted for an account of the riots in Dublin, and

the trifling expedition of Thurot, who surprised Carrickfergus, and lost his life, and his squadron, in an endeavour to escape.

The Duke of Bedford's correspondence, contained in this volume, has scarcely any letters from Lord Sandwich, and none from Mr. Legge. Lord Sandwich, though he continued of the Duke of Bedford's party, seems, for some reason or other, to have cooled in his personal attachment; and Legge, having risen through other means, threw off his connection with the Duke of Bedford, to whom he had, on the fall of Walpole, addressed such earnest supplications.

Another correspondent fills a large space in this volume. Mr. Rigby was one of a school which covered its loose morality and corrupt politics under the honoured mantle of Sir Robert Walpole; he had learnt from Winnington to combine a life of pleasure and of business. Less able, and far less of a public speaker than Fox, he had much of that statesman's strong sense and practical shrewdness: coarse and jovial, ready for any work, and merry in every fortune, he pleased his friends by his serviceable good humour; and, if he did not appease his enemies, he made his own life easy by his placable forgiveness of invective and hostility. It was unfortunate for the Duke of Bedford that his political friends had so little of his own disinterested concern for the public good: and the result shows how careful a public man

should be in the choice of his political associates. Even Junius, with all his malignity and disregard of truth, would scarcely have succeeded in blackening the fame of the Duke of Bedford, had he rejected the assiduous flattery of pleasant companions, and sought the intimacy of high-minded friends.

The correspondence of Mr. Rigby with Sir Robert Wilmot, who was at the head of the Irish department in London, has been kindly placed in my hands by the descendant of that gentleman, the present Sir Robert Wilmot; and I here insert a few extracts, to illustrate the character of a man, of whom Lord Orford says "For Rigby, though he never shone in the Irish parliament, no man wanted parts less; and his joviality soon made him not only captivate so bacchanalian a capital, but impress a very durable memory of his festive sociability."*

Rigby was secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, and, during the time he held that office, was appointed Master of the Rolls, not then a place of business.

Soon after the Duke's arrival at Dublin, after a letter mentioning the reception and the dinners of ceremonial, he says, in his next communication: "Indeed, to tell you the truth, Sir Robert, I think every thing has the appearance of quiet; and his Grace, to keep it so, very wisely distributes all the favours of Government with a very impartial hand.

* Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 409.

. . . . We go on yet feasting every day, but our drinking has been very gentle. All that bugbear, I see, may be put upon what footing we please; and a man may as well say he can never be sober at Mistley * as at Dublin."

It appears that Rigby was reported in London as too free and open in his convivial hours. He thus pleads to the charge, with as much frankness as good humour.

"Now for the drunken story. It is very certain Mr. Pery and I have once dined together since I came to Ireland, and it is as true that we liked one another well enough not to part till near three in the morning, long before which time the company was reduced to a *tête-à-tête*, except one other, drunk and asleep in a corner of the room. Who, therefore, has been accurate enough to remember the whole conversation, I cannot imagine; but you may assure yourself their ingenuity much exceeds their veracity. I have never heard or seen any symptoms of anger from Kildare or Malone from that night's jollity, till I read it in your letter this morning. We both, I believe, made free with the times, as people in high spirits and in their cups are apt to do; but I really believe, was I to show it to him, Pery would be as much surprised as I am, to hear that our fun was made matter for serious discourse or deliberation.

"I am much obliged to you, my dear Sir Robert, for sending me, however, all these stories; I am as much entertained, and can laugh at them more, than those that invent them. I know that a secretary is lawful game for every body to fly at; and I should be very sorry to have

* Mr. Rigby's country house.

led so insipid a life as to be suffered to pass unenvied, and consequently uncensured, through that employment. Let me hear from you, the oftener the better; and when from parliament and claret, from councils and bumpers, I can find time to work, I shall think my time well bestowed to answer you."

His grievances are thus related:—

"Sir Robert, — I am now here in the agreeable circumstance of being kept every day till six or seven o'clock in the House of Commons, upon one nonsensical motion or another. I am railed at by one party for being the mover of all these inflammatory inquiries, and the grand incendiary; and the other party condemning me for my candour and good-humour towards (for they would not have me speak to) any that vote against the Castle. I cannot say I am much ruffled with all these storms; I rather defy them and laugh at the danger. I wish I could now and then go a cock-shooting, and sometimes, though not often, get away from the claret a little earlier. But as these are the two circumstances that lay nearest my heart, you will not bestow a very large share of pity upon me."

Mr. Waite, the chief person in Mr. Rigby's office, says:

"If right intentions in the chief, or an agreeable openness in business in the Secretary, could avail, everything might be expected; but, in truth, the attention to either is shameful."

When the Primate became a friend, Mr. Rigby gives this account:

"We are more and more friends here every day. The

Primate is never out of the house, makes dinners for all the family (not the Duke), and sent *his* Speaker to-day to know when my Lord-Lieutenant would please to have an end put to the session. I fancy the week after this it will be at an end. I wish Lord Kildare may be persuaded by his friends to acquiesce a little and come in, but I believe he will not. Many of his friends wish he may, so it is not quite desperate."

On the subject of the expedition from France:

"I have received your letter of the 9th and 13th; with them came, also, a messenger from Mr. Pitt, to tell us of the intended visit the Duc d'Aiguillon means to pay us from Vannes. His letter is strong in its expressions, and the intelligence pretty positive, that their destination is Ireland. If they land, you will directly send us, I suppose, an army to fight them with: the one we have is about sufficient to keep the Papists from rising to join them. But I remain an infidel still, not perhaps of their intentions, but of their being able at all to carry them into execution. Pray send me all domestic intelligence you can get, whether Legge or his wife is to be a Peer, or Barrington or his wife Chancellor of the Exchequer; for, till we are conquered by the French, I can't help caring much more for the domestic intelligence of St. James's parish than for all the foreign ones from the four quarters of the world. And when we are entirely subjected, it is a hundred to one but I endeavour to find out who is well with Madame de Pompadour. I must observe before I conclude, that it will be damned impertinent in the French to disturb the union and harmony which, by the blessing of God, is so happily established amongst us, his Majesty's faithful subjects in Ireland. So, my dear Sir Robert, drink 'the glorious and immortal memory!'"

Again, with respect to Thurot:

"We had intelligence by express here the other day from Lord George Beauclerck from Edinburgh, with a copy of a letter enclosed to his Lordship from Commodore Boys, who had missed Thurot, and was then in the Firth of Forth waiting for some account of him. This has put us upon our guard; and orders are gone from the commissioners, to keep a sharp look-out by the custom-house boats all round the coast. Should he land in the north of Ireland, if Sir Edward Hawke can defend us from a second landing in the south, we should not have much to fear; but we should ill bear a division of our forces, which are, *bonâ fide*, 7500 infantry, and 1500 cavalry. The recruiting in the north turns out nothing; Lord Hillsborough alone got a few men at first, not upwards of forty; and the rest of the great lords, and the others whom we wrote to, have left it to the recruiting officers to do as they could. We have sent you a handsome address from the Commons, of Lord Tavistock's moving upon Wolfe and Quebec: he spoke amazingly well, and, though in the agony of fear, possessed himself the whole time. Say nothing of it, but I believe it is very near over with him.* God knows what is to happen, but I hope I stand some chance."

Sir Henry Cavendish, in a letter of Nov. 8. 1759:

"Every member, or at least a great majority, seems well disposed to oblige our Lord-Lieutenant, which will make us perfectly happy, if a total loss of credit does not interrupt our felicity."

* This is a curious instance of a writer's mind being absorbed in a manner to make his expressions obscure. The person to whom he here alludes is not Lord Tavistock, but the Master of the Rolls, who was dying.

Mr. Rigby, on Nov. 15, writes:

"A messenger, it is true, arrived to-day with a letter to my Lord-Lieutenant, which does not seem to require such a particular attention. The post would have brought it time enough; it contains, however, the King's approbation of our message to the House of Commons, and all that passed in consequence of it; but requires more active zeal from the loyal subjects of this *opulent* kingdom, particularly mentioning the want of spirit in recruiting the army in Ulster, which the great men there *spontaneously* offered. All this, by the bye, is very true, for they have done little or nothing."

From Mr. Fox to Sir Robert Wilmot:

"I have just received a note from Mr. Rigby, and am upon thorns till I know that his Grace's request of making him Master of the Rolls is complied with. Be so good as to give me the earliest notice of what concerns so much a man whom I love so dearly."

From Mr. Rigby, when he obtained the office of Master of the Rolls:

"And now, my dear Sir Robert, ten thousand thanks to you for your express, which arrived at six this morning. I had the kindest letter you ever read from the Duke of Newcastle yesterday, in answer to one I wrote him before the old man died; and I did not doubt, after I read it, my success; and, if anything could be added to the value of the thing itself, I own it is the gracious manner in which I have received it from all of them. It is a damned good place, Sir Robert, as I shall know better, and will tell you when I see you. I will write about my re-election when

I am in absolute possession; I don't apprehend my seat in Parliament vacated till then."

On the subject of the Dublin riot, Nov. 28:

"Since I wrote last to you, our mobs are at an end, and perfect quiet and peace restored. I am told, too, the weavers, the people who chiefly made up the multitude, are ashamed of having been so grossly imposed upon. The House of Commons have appointed a committee to endeavour to find out the ringleaders; and *Johnny Magill* tells me they shall certainly discover who they are. The mob being dispersed, I did not care a farthing if the committee was also."

Again, in Dec. 10:

"I am told of my life being threatened every hour, but I meet with no insults whatever. When I stay out late at night, I make my servants carry fire-arms; and by God, if I am attacked, I will wait for no peace-officer to give the word of command."

On Dec. 19, he writes:

"Here Mr. Hely Hutchinson continues his daily attack; and neither Primate, Speaker, or Lord Shannon dared to oppose resolving that the exportation of live cattle from hence was prejudicial to this country; so I was left alone to speak for it, which I did in the best and strongest terms I was able. He then wanted to bring his resolution to my Lord-Lieutenant, but upon a division he could get but *six* to proceed to such extremities against 104. His Grace is not satisfied, nor am I much pleased, that they would not show spirit enough not to suffer that matter to be at all stirred."

And on the 18th Dec., respecting Lord George Sackville:

"As three good reasons are found for not bringing Lord George to a trial, pray let me know as soon as one good one is found for giving him a regiment again."

Again, on the Dublin riot, Dec. 23:

"What nonsense! to talk of a civil magistrate and the troops! The blockhead of a mayor refused to take the troops; and had the insolence or cowardice, or both I think, to tell my Lord-Lieutenant in council that there was no disorder, at the very time when, to his face, my Lord Chancellor declared that they had sworn him and the Chief Justice in his coach, and refused him admittance into the House of Lords. Had the troops not marched, at last when they did, and it was duskish, and the mob had been suffered to remain till it was quite dark, many houses had been pulled down, and many people murdered, I have not the least doubt. Pray tell Wood all this when you see him. Had they attacked me, I would have been my own civil magistrate, I promise you; but we have heard no more of it since..... These mobs and parliaments are damned troublesome, to be sure; but assure yourself they don't appear half so formidable to us here, as when reported to you at a distance."

The following, of Dec. 27., is remarkable:

"Whether these disturbances were in connection with the apprehended invasion, I cannot say; I rather think not. However, they certainly are the effects of those wicked insinuations to the prejudice of Government in 1753, which, with the national dislike to English rule, has rendered the people easy of belief of all suggestions to its prejudice, and consequently not to be relied on for its support."

"What must be surmised without doors, when committees are moved for to inquire what laws may be necessary to support the liberties of the subjects (I may not give the words, but of this import), and the Ch. of the E— dividing with the minority, on such a question, at this time?"

To the same purport, on Jan. 1. 1760:

"Perhaps I need not tell you that there is a general indisposition to the people of England from those in Ireland: that they are unwilling to acknowledge the dependency of this on the British L—sl—re; and that they are all bred up in a settled antipathy to the superiority of the latter. Notwithstanding this, I would not be thought as imagining that there is any settled plan for the asserting an Ind—p—cy: but to be uneasy in their present state, and to express amongst themselves this uneasiness, is the turn and fashion of the upper sort of people, and is caught from them downwards. I apprehend, too, that Pr—ts—ts in this particular are as culpable as Pa—p—ts."

On Thurot's invasion, Feb. 27. 1760:

"Between friends, the invasion will answer one good purpose, it will shorten the session: for most of the patriots are gone to do their country as little service with their hands and their militias, as they do with their heads at College Green."

The capture of Thurot's squadron, related by Mr. Hill, the Collector of Strangford, March 1:

"I have this moment received an account by express from the Isle of Man, that on Thursday morning last, before day, the English squadron, under the command of Captain Elliot, of the Eolus, came up with and engaged

Captain Thurot (who had sailed out of Belfast Lough at one that morning) off Ramsay, in the Isle of Man.

"That, at the second broadside, Captain Thurot was killed, on which his ships struck and were carried into Ramsay Bay. They consist of the Bellisle, of forty guns, and Le Blond and La Terpsichore frigates, of thirty guns; our ships were the Eolus, of forty guns, and two twenty-gun ships. The express saw them lying in Ramsay Bay, and the English colours hoisted above the French. The Bellisle was greatly shattered, so as hardly to be kept above water. Twenty of our men that were wounded were sent on shore at the Isle of Man."

From Mr. Waite to Sir R. Wilmot:

"It rejoices me to hear that your great people in St. James's Square and Lincoln's Inn Fields have conceived so justly of the abilities of Mr. Rigby. We shall see him a very considerable man. He has all the requisites for it, and is as agreeable a master as I ever served."

Again, from Mr. Waite, after the resignation of the Lord-Lieutenancy by the Duke, Jan. 30. 1761:

"It is the grief of my heart to think that there is even a probability of losing Mr. Rigby. I shall never meet with such a friend again. I shall never again serve under a man with so much pleasure. He reposed trust and confidence in me: he treated me with the openness and affection of a brother; and, to the latest hour of my life, I shall love, honour, and esteem him."

The third and last volume of this correspondence will contain the negotiations which ended in the peace of Paris, and many letters illustrative of the

changes of domestic policy at the commencement of the reign of George the Third. The Introduction to that volume will include a notice of the false and malignant libels of Junius, upon the character of the Duke of Bedford.

The public are again indebted to Mr. Martin, for nearly all the notes to this volume.

CORRESPONDENCE,

&c. &c.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX AND LORD CATHCART.

January 1. 1748-9. 1749.

[Respecting the King's intention of sending an Ambassador to Paris.

In a minute of business transacted with the King is the following memorandum in the Duke's hand-writing: "His Majesty doth not intend to send the Duke of Richmond to France, unless M. de Mirepoix is made a Duke, or the French king should nominate another person that is a Duke, ambassador to this court."

This letter announces that it "never was the King's intention to send the Duke of Richmond or any other person as ambassador extraordinary to Paris, prior to that court's sending a person of like quality, and of like public character, to London."]

1749.

LORD SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Hague, January 6. 1749.

[Almost entirely refers to the jealousy between Sir Thomas Robinson and himself. In some papers styled very secret in Lord Braybroke's collection* is the following extract from a letter, dated November, 1748: "The Duke of Newcastle thought to throw a slur on Lord Sandwich by joining Robinson with him; but this latter, though he set out in a magisterial tone, has done no more than the other, nor do I think him capable of doing so much, with all his presumption."]

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. KEENE.

Whitehall, January 12. 1748.

[Respecting some innovations made at the Custom House of Port St. Mary's in the entering some species of English manufactures.]

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. YORKE.

Whitehall, February 16. 1748–9.

[The King will have great satisfaction in seeing the Marquis de Mirepoix at his court, and has

* Which have been most kindly placed at the disposal of the Editor.

under consideration the fixing upon a proper person to send to the court of Versailles.] 1749.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. YORKE.*

Whitehall, February 16. 1748–9.

Sir,

I received on Monday last your despatch of the $\frac{8}{19}$th instant, which I immediately laid before his Majesty, who has been pleased to approve of your conduct in your conversation with M. Puisieux, and of the assurances you gave him, according to your instructions, of the King's desire and resolution to live in harmony and to preserve a perfect good understanding with his court: you very properly observed to that minister, that as the King had on his part most religiously observed and executed every condition of the definitive treaty, he had all the reason in the world to expect that the French court would, on their side, fulfil and complete their engagements, by not protracting any longer the evacuations of the four towns in Hainault. In consequence of the truth of this observation, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should (in case you perceive any affected delay in the rendering up of these towns upon frivolous pretences of the Empress Queen not having fully satisfied the Genoese in relation to the 14th article of the definitive treaty) make the strongest remonstrances to M. Puisieux on this head, as the retaining any

* Third son of the first Earl of Hardwicke.

1749. longer these towns must unavoidably occasion jealousies, and thereby in some sort endanger the happy union and harmony which is at present so happily established between the two courts.

His Majesty doth likewise entirely approve the answer you gave M. Puisieux in relation to his guaranteeing the last convention made at Brusselles; but as that affair is now entirely at an end, I shall not trouble you any farther on this subject.

Your conversation with M. Puisieux in relation to the Pretender's son, and your pressing that minister to oblige him to repass the Alps, in virtue of the engagements they are under to his Majesty, is entirely agreeable to the King; and it is his royal pleasure that you should (in case he still continues at Avignon) return again to the charge, and insist in the strongest manner that proper measures be taken by the French court to oblige him to repass the Alps.

As the French king gives audience in his closet to none under the character of minister plenipotentiary, and as his Majesty does always here give audience in his closet to all ministers who come accredited to him, you undoubtedly acted very properly in not producing your letters of credence, as it would by no means have had a good appearance that more distinction should have been shown to the French minister at this court, than could have been given by the etiquette of the court of Versailles to his Majesty's minister residing there.

I am, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

1749.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE KING.

[Respecting John Foster, convicted at the Old Bailey sessions for stealing 25*l.* in money, and condemned to death.

This letter has the following endorsement.

"If the fact is as it is represented, I think it very proper this man should be reprieved till one knows more of the matter.

G. R."]

MR. KEENE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Madrid, February 25. 1749.

I arrived here the 13th instant, and the day following visited Don Josef de Carvajal, his Catholic Majesty's minister of state, and delivered to him the copies of his credential letters, as his Majesty's minister plenipotentiary. The King gave me audience the 17th in the most gracious manner imaginable.

The putting an end to so destructive a war has been so agreeable to all ranks of people, that here is not a person of any distinction of one sex, but what has been to visit me, nor of the other sex that has not sent me compliments. And even the lower sort have shown their satisfaction at seeing me again in this country.

1749. The King is grown very healthy and robust since I left this country; and by the exercise he takes, and the regularity of his life, is likely to make it a long one. His passion is music and *la chasse;* his intentions honest and upright; he wishes the good and relief of his people; but all his good qualities will be directed and applied according to the hands and hearts of those he confides in. He is excessively fond of his queen, who can sway him as she pleases, with as much power, but much less difficulty, than ever the Dowager did the late King, his father.

The reigning queen *, though not increased to such a size as had been represented to me, has a good deal more than *embonpoint.* The least motion puts her into a difficulty of breathing, and anxieties, which deprive her of her two favourite diversions, singing and dancing; and though both by her looks and her humour she appears to be in good health, I am told her physicians imagine she has *tubercula* in her lungs, which are the cause of her complaints, and may finish her days without giving any warning. She has parts, and is of a frank and easy conversation; is reckoned very covetous, and consequently not averse to presents; so fond of music, that the famous Farinelli is supposed to have her sole confidence; and her ambition seems only to aim at passing her life with the King in tran-

* Maria Magdalena Theresa Barbara, daughter of John the Fifth, king of Portugal.

quillity, and to make provision in the mean time against such events as may happen if she should have the misfortune to lose him. 1749.

Here are two ministers, Don Josef de Carvajal, and the Marquis de la Ensenada. The former is first in place and birth. He is charged with the expedition of all foreign affairs; but being the son of a grandee, he, by the turn of this country, thinks it beneath him to take the title of *Secretario*, and is called *Ministro del Estado*. He is a mild, complaisant man, of a very dry conversation, full of projects for advancing the Spanish commerce, in which he has not been successful; seems a little embarrassed for want of more practice in the world, and timid from the circumstances of his situation; much wedded to his own opinion when he has declared it, but otherwise he passes for an honest sincere man; and from his natural disposition and his alliances is a much greater favourite with the King than with her Catholic Majesty. The Marquis de Ensenada, from a low beginning, which I remember, has, by a number of lucky events, raised himself to a more absolute pitch of power than ever was known in this country. He was employed as Secretary to the Finances and Indies in the late reign, and was in little credit at the commencement of this. But he soon found his way to Farinelli, and by his means, and by presents to the Queen, he made himself master of the whole. He turned out the Marquis de Villarias, and not thinking himself strong enough to take all the burden of

1749. the government upon him, he placed above himself *in appearance* his friend Carvajal, who, finding the King's inclinations grow strong towards him, made an attempt to be so *in reality*. And from hence arise these jealousies between them, which will cause the inconveniences and difficulties I must expect to meet with in my negotiations, both with regard to the method of proceeding, as well as to the substance of what I may have to treat upon. Ensenada is of a different turn from the reserved manner of Carvajal, affects a gaiety and ease, and is the most profuse man in his way of living that ever was known here. His rise and preservation are owing to his art in applying his presents; and it is thought that he only permits Carvajal to continue in his post, because he may possibly have more to apprehend from a successor than Carvajal himself, now he has whistled him down to the size he thinks proper.

The King, they think, must soon be undeceived in his behalf, that his affairs are in the best posture imaginable; and though his minister, Ensenada, flatters his hopes, and frees him from troubles and difficulties, yet the Grandees in his service are daily attempting to leave their employments, on account of their dislike of the present proceedings.

The next material point which, after the state and disposition of the court, will demand most attention, is inclination and affection towards France: and I have had the satisfaction, since my

arrival, to hear from the nobility, the officers who have served in Italy, and from all ranks of people, how tired they have been of the dependence they were under upon that country. The King, I am assured, is far from having any particular regard for them; the Queen still less, as she is thought not to forget she is of the House of Austria. But there still remains a sort of fear about them, which, if they had resolution to confide in his Majesty's friendship, they would easily recover from. 1749.

I wish the Bishop of Rennes *, who, under pretence of his health, is not to return to France till Easter, had left this court. His stay, I imagine, proceeds from his orders, and perhaps his own ideas, to see whether, by the superiority he has gained here during the late reign, and in some sort over their present Catholic Majesties, against their inclinations, he may check their first motions towards coming to a sincere union between the two crowns and nations. And as he has been habituated for a long course of years to do us all the disservice in his power at this place, I cannot have so good an opinion of him as to think he will now begin to alter his conduct.

Your Grace will have been informed that the Duke de Huescar, the Spanish Ambassador in France, has received leave to return to Spain; and that Don Francisco Pignatelli, a Lieutenant-General who has served with distinction during the war,

* Ambassador at Madrid on the death of Philip. Coxe calls him "a vain, officious, and domineering prelate."

1749. is named to succeed the Duke in that embassy. He is a mild, good-natured man, whom I have known many years, and I dare say will be glad to live in friendship with the Duke of Richmond. People were a little surprised at this choice on account of his age, and as he was never employed in a military capacity.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. YORKE.

Whitehall, February 27. 1748–9.

Sir,

His Majesty having taken into consideration your separate letter of the $\frac{\text{18th Feb.}}{\text{1st March}}$ giving a very particular account of the conversation M. de Puisieux had held to you a few days before, has directed me to acquaint you, that he is entirely satisfied with the answers you gave and the conduct you held in that conversation.

The caution you took in avoiding the receiving any direct proposals from the French minister, by appearing to be entirely uninstructed, is in every respect agreeable to his Majesty, and it is his pleasure that you should, in all future conversations of this nature, except in cases with regard to which you shall have received his Majesty's express instructions, avoid entering into particulars as much as possible.

The King doth entirely approve of the general assurances you gave M. Puisieux of his firm in-

tentions to adhere most religiously to the engagements he has now lately entered into with the French court, and his Majesty is fully determined to do every thing that depends on him that can any ways tend towards the maintaining that tranquillity which is now so happily established. 1749.

The means proposed by M. Puisieux for the obtaining this desirable end seem very properly calculated to effect it, and it is not to be doubted but that the court of France may, in case she is well inclined, prevent, by making a proper use of the influence she must necessarily have with her allies, any storm that may be gathering in the north from breaking out; and his Majesty is so thoroughly persuaded of the fitness of a measure of this nature, with regard to orders to be sent to his own allies, that he has directed in the strongest manner his ministers at Vienna and Moscow to explain his sentiments to those two courts, upon the necessity there is to prevent any commotions from arising in the north upon the death of the King of Sweden, which it is apprehended may not be very far distant.

As I flatter myself, your making known to the French minister these just and equitable sentiments of the King, my master, will entirely remove all suspicion with regard to any warlike measures being thought of in England, I think it quite unnecessary to make many observations on the suggestion thrown out by M. de Puisieux, either of our taking any part in these troubles or the affect-

1749. ing an armed neutrality, as it must appear to you, by what I have already informed you of, that his Majesty is so far from giving any countenance to those who may possibly have a desire to project new troubles in the north, or even to an armed neutrality in that case, that he has directed the most pressing instances to be made for the preventing them in those courts, from which the court of France could apprehend any danger of this sort might arise.

I believe it is needless to mention to you, that all that I have above wrote, is upon a supposition that his Majesty's allies are not attacked by any power whatsoever, nor any attempt made to subvert the form of government in Sweden, for in either of those cases, the King would think himself obliged to fulfil all the defensive engagements he is under to them.

The notion of his Majesty's intention to send a squadron, this summer, into the Baltic, has so generally prevailed, that it is difficult to account for it any other way, than that the French themselves are conscious that the extraordinary armament of the King of Prussia, who (it is said here) has increased his troops by the addition of several thousand men, must have given some alarm to his Majesty and his allies, and consequently have put them on their guard against all events; and this suspicion has been strengthened by the vote of 3000 seamen in addition to those voted at the beginning of the session; but in this way they have

judged too hastily, as these seamen are voted upon wages only: viz., at about 10*l.* for the year, and not as the other 17,000 are, at 4*l.* a man per month, which includes not only the wages, but victuals, wear and tear, &c. and is only intended to enable his Majesty to have a sufficient number of seamen upon any emergency, without being obliged to take those violent measures of pressing them into the service, which is so detrimental to trade and to the liberty of the subject, and which his Majesty can never prevail on himself to break through, but on the most urgent occasions. This, the French ministry must be sensible, is doing no more on our part than what they do by land, where the reduced men out of the several national regiments are still kept up upon the foot of militia, and are liable to be called back again into the service whenever their master shall require it. 1749.

I have dwelt longer upon these several subjects than is, perhaps, necessary to one who is so well informed as yourself; but as I know it is the King's firm intention to prevent any fresh troubles from arising which might kindle up a new war in Europe, I thought it my duty to be as particular as I could in informing you of the King's sentiments in regard to your very important despatch of the $\frac{\text{18th Feb.}}{\text{1st March}}$.

As M. de Puisieux did not make you any formal propositions about the reciprocal sending of ministers between this court and Sweden, his Majesty has not yet thought proper to give me any directions thereupon; and as, in all probability, the

1749. King will be desirous of seeing what turn affairs will take in the north, before he determines any thing absolutely on this subject, I believe it will be proper for you, in case any fresh overture should be made you by M. de Puisieux, to appear still uninstructed, and to desire time to write to your court for orders thereupon.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR YORKE.

Whitehall, March 13. 1748–9.

Sir,

I had barely time to acknowledge last post the receipt of your several despatches of the $\frac{4}{15}$th instant, but not having been able before to receive his Majesty's orders thereupon, I have been obliged to postpone till now informing you what answers it is the King's pleasure you should make to the several points of business M. Puisieux talked to you upon in the last conversation you had with him, and of which you give me an account in your letter in cypher of the $\frac{4}{15}$th instant.

As the declaration M. Durand made on Wednesday last by order of his court to the Duke of Newcastle and myself will in some measure explain to you the principle upon which his Majesty has determined to send you the orders which you will receive in this despatch, I think it necessary before I enter farther into this affair to inform you of it,

though in all probability before this M. Puisieulx must have acquainted you with it. 1749.

M. Durand began by acquainting me that he had received instructions from his court to make the following declaration to me: in the first place, with regard to the Pretender's son, that there was certain information that he had quitted Avignon, but that it was not known whither he was gone, but that orders had been given to all the most Christian King's officers *de l'arrêter* in case he should attempt to return to Avignon through the French territories, and conduct him by sea to Civita Vecchia. In the second place, that he had orders to declare that the King his master is so far from desiring any change in the form of government in Sweden, that he is ready on his part to take joint measures with the King in opposition to any such attempt. This declaration of the French court, as likewise the proposal made by M. Puisieux which you informed me of in your despatch of the $\frac{18\text{th Feb.}}{1\text{st March}}$, viz. that the two courts of London and Versailles, without entering into any farther or more intimate concert together, should respectively make such instances to their allies as might induce them to forbear taking any measures that might in any degree endanger the peace of the north, and consequently the tranquillity of all Europe, have in a great degree convinced his Majesty that the court of Versailles is not at all desirous of fomenting the troubles which have been apprehended ready to break out in the north, but on the contrary is de-

1749. sirous of taking such joint measures with us as seem most likely to prevent any mischief of this sort from arising.

As I informed you in my despatch of the 27th of last month that his Majesty had given directions that his ministers at the courts of Vienna and Moscow should be ordered to make the strongest instances at those courts against any steps being taken by either of them that might tend to raise any commotions in those parts, as likewise that his Majesty had no thoughts of entering into any hostile measures unless his allies should be first attacked, or that an attempt should be made to subvert the form of government in Sweden, I have nothing farther to add to this but to inform you, that the orders are actually sent to Vienna and Moscow with strong but friendly instances to those courts, and that the King doth still adhere to those sentiments of moderation, in case France, in pursuance of the declarations she has now lately made, shall continue to act in that manner which in some degree has been chalked out by herself, and which his Majesty doth entirely approve of.

As M. Puisieux seems to found the greatest jealousy of this court upon these two points, viz. the coolness showed to M. Durand when he first touched upon his Majesty's admitting a minister from Sweden; and, 2dly, the reports almost universally spread about of his Majesty's intention to send a squadron of men-of-war this next summer into the Baltic, I have now the King's orders to in-

form you of his determination upon those points, by means of which I flatter myself you will be able to remove all groundless jealousies that the court of Versailles may have conceived thereupon. 1749.

The behaviour of the Swedish court towards his Majesty, and the treatment the King's late minister, Colonel Guy Dickens, met with at Stockholm, must have necessarily been so disagreeable to his Majesty, that it cannot be wondered at that the first insinuations M. Durand made on that subject were received by the King's ministers here with an apparent coolness, especially as the person whom it is supposed the Swedish ministry intended to send hither is one who cannot possibly be looked upon as agreeable to the King, or who can be supposed on account of his former conduct to be likely to reestablish that harmony between the two nations which has been unfortunately interrupted by the late transactions at Stockholm. I have however leave to inform you, that you may (in case M. Puisieux shall take upon himself to answer for the court of Sweden's sending a proper person, and one that will be acceptable to the King, to his court) assure that minister that a proper subject will be pitched upon by his Majesty to go to Stockholm, upon their making the first step to a reconciliation.

The opinion has so generally prevailed that his Majesty intended to send a squadron this summer into the Baltick, that it is not much to be wondered at that the French ministry have taken umbrage at it, especially as the additional number of 3000 sea-

1749. men has been lately voted by Parliament. I have so fully explained myself to you on this head in my dispatch of the 27th of February last, that I must refer you to that for the reasons of the prevalency of this report; and I have now only to add that it his Majesty's pleasure you should inform M. Puisieux that it is not his intention to send any such squadron thither, provided his Majesty's allies are not attacked, nor any attempts made to destroy the liberties and subvert the form of the government of Sweden.

The noble and unreserved manner in which the King explains himself to the most Christian King, doth doubtless deserve an equal and unlimited confidence in return, and I make no question of your finding the French court so thoroughly satisfied by the declarations you are now authorised to make to them, that all farther suspicions on their part with regard to our fomenting any future troubles in the north will vanish of course.

Having now gone through every thing in your last dispatch, I have nothing to add but my assurances of being, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

1749.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. YORKE.

Whitehall, March 20. 1748–9.

Sir,

M. Zöhrern, the Empress Queen's minister at this court, having communicated to his Majesty's ministers by special orders from Vienna her Imperial Majesty's sentiments with regard to the present situation of affairs in the North and Germany, and his Majesty conceiving that the acquainting the court of France with these just and pacific sentiments of the Empress Queen cannot fail of being agreeable to his most Christian Majesty, as it must undoubtedly put an end to all jealousies that may have been conceived at Versailles of his Imperial Majesty's intentions, has directed me to acquaint you with the purport of M. Zöhrern's conversation with the Duke of Newcastle and myself.

M. Zöhrern begun with saying, that his court would have been much more surprised at the alarm taken by France of their warlike intentions, were they not apprised who were the authors of such reports; that nothing can be more contrary to her intentions than the reports given out on her subject, that she is so far from wishing to raise new troubles, either in the North or in Germany, that she will, on the contrary, do all in her power to prevent them; that she will be ever faithful to her friends and allies, but that she has no offensive engagements with any power whatsoever.

That her treaties are well known, and that she is

1749. so far from making a mystery of her sentiments, that she desires they may be known to all who wish to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, as she believes the treaties of other princes are agreeable to her own.

That it seems strange to her that the court of France (considering the dismal calamities her subjects have suffered during the war, and the improbability there must be of her desiring them in new troubles) should give any credit to those reports which, by certain intrigues, are artfully propagated to her disadvantage; that she thinks what has already passed ought to convince the French court of the falsity of such ideas; that it would be very unfortunate if, upon suppositions absolutely false, measures equally false, and contrarient to the end for which it is said they are designed, should be taken; that the Empress Queen cannot reproach herself with not having sincerely reconciled herself with the Powers who formerly declared themselves her enemies; that she still persists in the same pacifick system, though she feels that, whilst credit is given to those who secretly wish her ill, this assurance may possibly fail of the effect she desires from it. That the court of Dresden is able to undeceive the court of France with regard to the Empress Queen's having no joint intention with them to disturb the publick tranquillity, and she leaves that work to them, contenting herself in acting conformably in every respect to those sentiments which, during the negociations at Aix, Count Kaunitz had

so often declared her to be inviolably attached to, as well in writing as verbally; that it will not be the fault of the Empress Queen if the French court is not entirely undeceived by this frank declaration she has made, nor can any steps the court of Versailles may take, on the instigation of those whose interest it is to promote them, and which may tend to the disturbance of the publick tranquillity, be laid to her charge; that, to conclude, the Empress Queen renews the most positive and sincere assurances that she wishes to live in the most perfect harmony with the most Christian King, on the foot of the last definitive treaty, which she will never infringe on her part, in the entire confidence that a perfect return will be made to her on the part of the most Christian King. Having now given you a very particular account of M. Zöhrern's conversation, I shall only observe upon it, that it is very plain, by several parts of it, that the King of Prussia is plainly marked out as instigating France to pursue measures, through false suggestions of the ill intentions of other powers, that may tend to the disturbance of the public tranquillity in the North. As this is the case, I need only remind you of a passage in your dispatch to me of $\frac{\text{Feb. 18th}}{\text{March 1st}}$, in which you inform me of M. Puisieux's declaration to you in these words: "that if any ally the King his master had (and he would particularly name the King of Prussia) should on any account endeavour to engage them to take part in recommencing the war, they would not only give him a flat denial, but do some- 1749.

1749. thing more, and be the first to put a stop to it in a manner worthy of themselves." This will undoubtedly be sufficient ground for you, when you shall communicate this declaration of M. Zöhrern's to the French minister, which it is the King's pleasure you should immediately do, to insist firmly with that minister that strong and proper remonstrances be made to his Prussian Majesty against his taking any step that may any ways tend towards raising a flame in the North, conformably to the assurances that minister had given you in the above recited conversation. You will likewise observe to him, that his Majesty has undoubtedly at present a right to demand this of them, with regard to the King of Prussia, as the Empress Queen has explained herself so fully, in order to take off all groundless jealousies that may have been conceived of her.

I am, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. YORKE.

Whitehall, April 4. 1749.

Dear Sir,

I cannot defer any longer the acknowledging the receipt of your private letter of the $\frac{25 \text{ March}}{5 \text{ April}}$, and returning you my thanks for the very accurate and full account you have given me therein of the most

Christian King, his family, court, and ministers. 1749.
There needed surely no apology for your transmitting to me your thoughts founded on observation with regard to the internal state of the French court; a point so necessary to be well understood, that I may venture to affirm it would be impossible for any one here to give proper instructions on the several points of business that must necessarily arise between this court and that of Versailles, to the minister entrusted with the King's business there, without some previous knowledge of the character and passions of the French King himself, as well as of the inclinations and power of his ministers and favourites. I have the satisfaction to be able to inform you, that this is not my way of thinking alone, but is authorised by his Majesty (to whom I have communicated your letter), who has been graciously pleased to direct me to signify to you his approbation of the pains you have taken in discovering the several springs in the movement of the French counsels, and how far they are connected together. I have likewise in charge to recommend to you to spare no pains towards making yourself acquainted with all that passes at the court where you now reside, and discovering as far as possible the secret causes, as well as the authors, of all the steps the French court shall think proper to take both with regard to the system of Europe in general as of this country in particular. The King and his ministers find so happy a disposition in you towards furnishing the necessary materials to enable

1749. us here to form a certain judgment of the designs and politics of the French court, that it would be quite inexcusable in me, not to spur you on (was that needful) to the completion of that work you have so well begun. You must certainly imagine that the account I have now received from you must give great satisfaction here, as it appears plainly the French King is desirous of preserving the peace he has now lately made with his Majesty; that his mistress, and the minister in power, M. Puisieux, are in the same sentiments; and that the rest of the ministers, though possibly not sincerely connected with the former, are for different reasons, such as re-establishing the marine, enmity to the foreign marshalls, &c., not averse to the pacific system. The discontent of the people with regard to the taxes, the distresses France has suffered by the war, and the consequence of these two, the King having lost the affections of the nation, together with the little union that seems to subsist between the several branches of the Royal family, as likewise between the ministers themselves, give some ground to hope that France will neither be in condition nor inclination to disturb us for some years. Add to all these the declension of the French interest at the Court of Madrid (which I believe to be undoubtedly the case), and consequently the increase in proportion of the British influence there (which I can assure you the King is determined to cultivate to the utmost of his power), and I believe you will allow that the above supposition is at least probable,

especially as there is great reason to hope that the troubles which have been so much dreaded in the North, as likely soon to break out, may be prevented by the prudent measures that have been taken separately by the courts of London and Versailles, in talking and enforcing the proper language to their respective allies. 1749.

I will detain you no longer than to assure you that the King's commands to me, to signify to you his gracious approbation of your conduct, gave me great pleasure, being with great regard, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

P.S. The King has had within these two or three days some fits of an ague; but, I thank God, it is now removed by his having taken the Jesuits' bark.

MR. YORKE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Private.)

Paris, May $\frac{6}{17}$. 1749.

My Lord,

After all the reports which had been spread about in the world, and I believe with some reasons, that the Bishop of Rennes was ordered to repair to his diocese without coming to court, he has, however, at last appeared there on Thursday; it is thought that Monsieur d'Argenson, who, since the fall of Monsieur Maurepas, has gained ground

1749. in the King's favour, has brought this about in opposition to M. Piusieux, who is certainly his enemy. I do not find nevertheless that his stay here will be very long, as it is said Monsieur d'Argenson persuaded the King to see him to save appearances only, without which he could not be of any service in his diocese, where the King has occasion for his influeuce. However it turns out, it is certain there has been a good deal of intriguing to bring it about. We shall see in a short time what it will produce.

Monsieur d'Argenson, to show his zeal and alertness in the department of Paris, has taken up a gentleman on suspicion of being author of the libels on the court, which Monsieur Maurapas was blamed for not discovering. The town says that the person taken up has certainly had no hand in them; but be it as it will, he is closely confined in the castle of Vincennes.*

The edicts for settling the taxes are not publick; the Parliament give what trouble they can, and are very violent; we are told every day of the violence of the remonstrances, and the voice of the people is for them. The end of the dispute every body

* A great number of persons were arrested about this time for libels; among others a Knight of Malta, and a secretary of the Abbé de Broglie. It was said that this last was confined in an iron cage, where he could neither lie down nor stand upright. But this may be as doubtful as the cage of Bajazet. At all events, the arrest of the Pretender at the Opera in November 1748 made Louis le Bien Aimé much despised, and the people cried out, "Il est Roi dans les fers; qu'êtes-vous sur le trône?" — See *Lacretelle, Hist. de France pendant le 18me Siècle.*

knows, but the parliament will not desist until forced. 1749.

Count Finchenstein leaves this town to-morrow; he proposed to make a longer stay, but he has gained so little ground here, that farther delay is needless.

I am, &c. &c.

JOSEPH YORKE.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. KEENE.

(Most secret.)

Whitehall, May 11. 1749.

Sir,

Not having had before this time an opportunity of answering by a safe conveyance your private letter of the $\frac{14}{25}$th of February last, I have been obliged to defer it till now, though I communicated the contents of it to his Majesty immediately upon the receipt of it. I have the satisfaction to be able to inform you that the King is thoroughly satisfied with your conduct towards the Spanish ministers, and has directed me to suggest nothing farther to you with regard to it, than that he would have you cultivate as far as possible the friendship and confidence of those Spanish ministers, and transact your business with them as much as possible by word of mouth, rather than by formal offices in writing. The King has so great an

1749. opinion of your dexterity and knowledge of that court, that he is pleased in having his affairs treated of with those ministers immediately and personally by yourself.

According to your desire, I made Major General Wall sensible that you had in every respect done justice to his court and nation in their reception of you, and I am very glad to be able to inform you, that that gentleman's behaviour here has been so agreeable of late, that he has acquired the esteem and countenance of his Majesty, and the friendship of his servants. He really seems to be a well intentioned man, a true Spaniard in his heart, and consequently, I hope and believe, more inclined to their intimate connection with England than with France. He is undoubtedly a sensible man, agreeable in his conversation, by which he has made himself many friends. I come now to the last and most secret part of your letter, I mean with regard to Farinelli.* The King leaves entirely to your discretion the giving him such assurances of favour from his Majesty as you shall judge his services may deserve, and I believe 2000*l.* or 3000*l.* properly laid out at your court may be of infinite service in the difficult negociations you have now to transact. His

* Carlo Broschi, surnamed Farinelli, was born at Naples in 1705: his vocal talents are well known: he was in England in 1734, where he made a large fortune; he was drawn to Madrid in 1737, where his influence became so great, that he was much courted by foreign ministers, and even by crowned heads. It was in reference to him that Maria Theresa said, when asked if she could condescend to court the aid of Madame de Pompadour, "Have I not flattered Farinelli?"

Majesty has so good an opinion of your prudence and fidelity, that he has been pleased to order me to authorise you to make such gratifications to those people who may be of service at the court you now are, as you shall judge necessary for the carrying the points you have in view into execution, provided the sum doth not exceed 3000*l.* sterling. 1749.

I am much obliged to you for the kind offer you make me of troubling yourself with any commissions I might have in Spain, and I cannot conclude without returning you my thanks for the seeds, &c. you sent me from Lisbon.

I am, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. KEENE.

(Separate.)

Whitehall, May 11. 1749.

Sir,

Though I am not able as yet to inform you of his Majesty's pleasure with regard to the affairs of the South Sea Company, not having hitherto been able to talk with the directors of that company, and to hear from them what it is they finally expect from the court of Spain, yet I would not, as you seem to be unacquainted with it, defer any longer sending you a copy of the declaration signed by the

1749. Earl of Sandwich and M. de Sotomayer the $\frac{13}{24}$th of June last, together with extracts of four letters of his lordship to Mr. Stone on this affair. You will see that by this declaration, the Spanish ministers have some pretensions to a right of calling upon us to enter into negociation with them for settling an equivalent for the years of *non jouissance* of the assiento and annual ship, antecedent to the company's having a right to demand the cedulas for that purpose. If this negociation for an equivalent should not succeed, the company is then undoubtedly entitled to demand the usual cedulas for the carrying on their trade for the four years that are yet to come. But, as I have above informed you, it is impossible to send you as yet the sentiments of the company on this head; I must defer till another time giving you his Majesty's orders for your conduct in this negociation.

I am, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. KEENE.

Sir,

Though I have not failed duly to lay before his Majesty your several dispatches relating to the points now depending between this court and that of Madrid, yet the time of the King's servants has

been so much taken up of late by parliamentary and other business, that it was impossible for me, before last Friday, to get a meeting of those Lords to whom his Majesty had been graciously pleased to refer your several dispatches, in order to my laying before the King their humble opinion thereupon. 1749.

His Majesty is now pleased to direct me to give you the following instructions for your conduct, in the negociations it may now be proper to begin at the court where you now reside, in order to terminate in the most amicable and friendly manner those points which still seem to be in dispute between the two nations, and which, if kept much longer undetermined, might possibly create a coolness and uneasiness between the two courts, which his Majesty is most desirous of avoiding.

The points upon which it seems necessary for you to receive fresh instructions may be reduced to these four, to wit: 1. the demand of the South Sea Company of the cedulas for the re-establishment of the assiento; 2. the increase of the evaluation of British commodities brought into the ports of Spain; 3. the omission of the specific renewal of the treaty of 1715 in the last definitive treaty; and, 4. the hint thrown out to you by M. Ensenada, that it was now time to talk of the points depending between the two nations, particularly freedom of navigation.

As to the first of these points, I mean the assiento, I must necessarily postpone the giving you final instructions on that head for some time, as it has

1749. been impossible as yet to talk so fully on that subject as is necessary with the directors of the South Sea Company; but I hope to be able to send you in a short time his Majesty's orders on that affair in a separate letter.

The second point, to wit, the increase of the evaluation of British goods imported into the ports of Spain, as it is an affair of the utmost consequence to our commerce, and seems to strike at the very root of it, as an arbitrary evaluation of British goods might, upon any ill humours of the Spanish court, be extended almost to a prohibition of them; his Majesty is pleased to direct you to use your utmost endeavours to obtain an order from his Christian Majesty for putting the trade of England on the same footing it was before the war, in conformity to the treaty of 1667, and the usage established in the time of Charles the Second of Spain and the treaties of Utrecht. You are so well acquainted with the arguments that may be most likely to prevail at the court you are now employed in, that it would be in vain for me to attempt to suggest them to you; and I shall mention nothing but the great lines it is necessary you should follow; and I think these are, the shewing the Spanish ministers that in case they really mean what they profess to do, that is, the uniting the two courts in the same degree of harmony and friendship as formerly subsisted betwixt them, and which is so necessary for them both, they should follow the same maxims, with regard to commerce, as their pre-

decessors did at a time when the two nations were most firmly united: this, on his part, the King is determined to do; and there are at present under the consideration of his servants, some advantages suggested by Major General Wall for the easier introduction of some Spanish commodities into the British dominions, as well in Europe as in America. 1749.

This attention of his Majesty towards a bare suggestion of the Spanish minister for the benefit of his nation, seems most justly to entitle the King to a like return from the court of Madrid, especially as all that is desired by us is to see commerce put on the same foot it was before the war, and as we are justly entitled by treaty to demand it.

I have wrote to you so much already on (3.) the omission of the specific renewal of the treaty of 1715 in the last definitive treaty, that I shall not repeat what I have already wrote. But as you mention, in your despatch to me of the $\frac{3}{14}$ of April, a conversation between you and M. Ensenada on that subject, and a hint thrown out by him of their having omitted things of great consequence to them in the guaranty of the Infant's possessions in Italy, and likewise your desire of knowing his Majesty's sentiments, whether these matters may be balanced one against the other, I must now acquaint you with the difficulties that occur to the King in the carrying this thought of M. Ensenada into execution.

These difficulties must arise from the necessity there will be, in case any alteration in the guaranty

1749. should be attempted, to take all the contracting parties to the last definitive treaty along with us; and I must leave you to judge what good fruit could be expected from such a negotiation, when France, our great rival in trade, shall see it in the light of obtaining the renewal of an advantageous commercial treaty to us, from that power over whom they have so long had an ascendant, and which they are at present so jealous of losing. There might many more arguments be made use of towards showing the impracticability of that scheme, such as disgusting the Empress Queen, the King of Sardinia, &c.; but I shall dwell no more on this subject, as it was only an idea of M. Ensenada loosely thrown out in conversation.

I must now give you his Majesty's orders, what he would have you do in this affair, which he considers to be of so serious a nature with regard to the commerce of his subjects, that he would have you leave no stone unturned in order to obtain from the Spanish court either an avowal of the actual and virtual existence of this treaty of 1715, though it is not actually enumerated by name among the treaties renewed; or, if that cannot be obtained, that you should immediately set to work with the Spanish ministers, in order to frame a new treaty of friendship and commerce upon the footing and plan of that of 1667, the usage in Charles the Second of Spain's time, and the treaties of Utrecht and 1715.

If either of these can be obtained, I think the last point I am to mention to you, and which was

likewise thrown out by M. Ensenada,—I mean (4.) the settling the points depending between the two nations, and the freedom of navigation,—will meet with little difficulty, as I know of no points depending except commercial ones; and I think the freedom of navigation is clearly on our side, by the treaties now indisputably existing. Besides, it is to be hoped, that in case the trade with Old Spain could be put on this footing, the contraband trade with the Spanish West Indies, the great bone of contention between the two nations, and the cause of most of the wars that have happened betwixt them, might be kept under without the Spaniards taking such violent measures, by means of their *guarda costas*, in searching our ships and committing such depredations on our merchants as were the causes of the last war. 1749.

I am, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

HENRY FIELDING TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Bow Street, July 3. 1749.

My Lord,

The protection which I have been honoured with receiving at the hands of your Grace, and the goodness which you was pleased to express some time since towards me, embolden me to mention to your Grace the place of solicitor to the excise is

1749. now vacant by the death of Mr. Selwyn. I hope no person is better qualified for it, and I assure you, my Lord, none shall execute it with more fidelity. I am at this moment busied in endeavouring to suppress a dangerous riot*, or I would have personally waited on your Grace, to solicit a favour which will make me and my family completely happy.

I am, &c.

H. FIELDING.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. KEENE.

Whitehall, July 13. 1749.

Sir,

Having in my despatch to you of the 6th instant acknowledged the receipt of your letters by Jackson the messenger, and having then informed you that I would write in answer thereto fully this post, I am now to acquaint you that I have laid your several dispatches before his Majesty, who has been pleased to approve of your answers to M. Carvajal, and M. Ensenada, on the subject of the renewal of the treaty of 1715. It is his Majesty's pleasure you should still insist in the strongest

* Occasioned by the robbery of three sailors in a house of ill-fame: they returned with a body of comrades, and nearly destroyed the house, turning its inmates out naked. A guard of soldiers was sent from the Tilt Yard, but arrived too late.

manner for the renewal of that treaty by a declaration being given by the court of Spain, that it doth still exist in its full force and efficacy; what M. Carvajal says, of the little occasion we have of a new declaration of it, when we have the actual enjoyment of the treaty, not being satisfactory to his Majesty, who is desirous of putting the commerce of his subjects on a firm and stable foundation, and not subject to the precarious humours of the Spanish ministry. I must likewise observe to you, that this idea of M. Carvajal, of the admitting this nation to the benefit of that treaty by connivance, without allowing the actual existence of it, as well as the two expedients proposed by M. Ensenada, either the one for secret orders to be sent to the officers of the customs not to demand higher duties of the English than the old ones, or the other for an account of the exceedings to be kept at the custom house in order to their being returned to the English merchant, — these several expedients, I say, seem not only frivolous and childish in themselves, but likewise liable to the same objections the Spanish ministers make to the actual renewal of the treaty of 1715, viz. that the French and other nations would avail themselves of it. How is it to be supposed that the advantages proposed by these ministers to be granted to the English nation by any of these expedients, would not be equally claimed by the French and all other nations, who have a right to be treated as *gens amicissima?* 1749.

As you very justly observe that the case men-

1749. tioned in my dispatch of the 11th of May last doth not yet exist, his Majesty doth entirely approve of your reasoning on that subject, and would have you, till you receive farther orders, act upon the same principles you have hitherto proceeded on.

I have this morning seen, and have had a good deal of conversation with, Messrs. Burrell* and Bristow†, and I find them upon the whole to be very well inclined. They seem very desirous of knowing whether you have received the accounts they sent you relating to the demands of the South Sea Company, and likewise whether any conversation has passed between you and the Spanish ministers in relation to their affairs. I hope to be able to send you very shortly some hints that we are endeavouring to stretch out here in relation to the liquidating the accounts and settling the disputes between that company and the court of Madrid; however, I find those gentlemen could have wished some proposal had been drawn out of the Spanish minister and sent over hither, in order to have formed a judgment what compensation the Spanish ministry would have given for the four years of *non-jouissance*, and what proposals they would have made for the payment of the vast debt undoubtedly due to the company.

I am, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

* Peter Burrell, Esq., Sub-Governor.

† John Bristow, Esq., Deputy-Governor.

P. S.—I yesterday received and laid before his Majesty your letter of the $\frac{26 \text{ June}}{7 \text{ July}}$, and I send your letters of revocation and re-credentials to the King and Queen of Portugal, and copies of your re-credentials for your own information. 1749.

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Windsor Great Lodge, August 2. 1749.

My Lord Duke of Bedford,

I received yours enclosing one from Lord Albemarle last night, and as I shall not be in town this week, I send it you that you may see how much stress he lays on the goodness of the intelligence. On my part, I bear it witness, for I never knew it fail in the least trifle, and have had very material and early notices from it. How far the price may agree with our present saving schemes I don't know; but good intelligence ought not to be lightly thrown away.

I remain,

Your ever affectionate friend,

WILLIAM.

1749.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.*

Whitehall, August 3. 1749.

My Lord,

I have duly laid your Excellency's several dispatches of the $\frac{24 \text{ July}}{4 \text{ Aug.}}$, as also a letter from Mr. Yorke of the same date, relative to the affairs about which your Lordship had directed him to speak to M. de Puisieux, before the King, who has been pleased to direct me to acquaint your Excellency that he doth entirely approve of the conduct you held in your audience of their most Christian Majesties, and in your visits and conversation to the Ministers. Your not giving way to Cardinal Tencin's pretension of refusing to give your Excellency the right hand in his own house, and to return your visit, has entirely met with his Majesty's approbation; and I cannot help taking notice in this place that the *supercherie* intended by him to be put on your Excellency, after he had agreed to receive your visit in the same manner the other ministers did, was, by your prudence in sending the sub-introductor of ambassadors into the Cardinal's house before you, prevented, and the point in dispute between the Cardinal and the Ambassador settled for the future.

* William Anne Keppel, second Earl of Albemarle, Ambassador at Paris, Knight of the Garter, Groom of the Stole, Governor of Virginia, Colonel of a regiment of Guards.

Mr. Yorke having transmitted to me an account of all that passed between him and the Marquis de Puisieux and M. Rouille in relation to the points concerning the treaty of commerce of 1713 and the commissaries to be appointed for settling the limits in America, and the points in dispute about prizes taken since hostilities should have ceased, and which, by your Excellency's order, he was directed to speak to the French ministers about, I herewith send you his Majesty's instructions for your conduct in the reply it will be necessary to make to M. Rouille's objections, and in support of our right to all the unconditional articles of the treaty of commerce of 1713. The King doth, as well in this as in all other matters upon which you may hereafter receive instructions from me, leave it entirely to your Excellency's discretion to determine what part you shall think proper to take immediately upon yourself, and what part you shall choose to give Mr. Yorke directions upon. 1749.

The Marquis de Puisieux's acknowledging the treaty of commerce of 1713 to be virtually renewed in all its articles which are not conditional, by the last treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, is a clear proof that, notwithstanding all that was asserted here by M. Durand of the nullity of that treaty, his Majesty was justly founded in the demand he has made in the behalf of his trading subjects for the entire abolition of the *Droit de Fret* upon British shipping; but I must own to your Excellency that I find it very difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile this

1749. avowal of the existence of the treaty in question with the conclusion M. de Puisieux made thereupon, viz. "that by the prohibitions made on both sides since the signing it, it was in effect annulled." Now I think this conclusion can in no degree be allowed, unless M. Puisieux can show that the acts of Parliament which have been passed since that time, to prohibit any particular branches of the French commerce, are derogating to the treaty, which I think I could venture to affirm they are not; and even supposing they were, no other argument could possibly be drawn from it, but that those prohibitions which were in derogation of the treaty should be taken off by an act of the legislature. I must caution your Excellency in this place that I am only reasoning in opposition to M. de Puisieux's conclusion, and by no means to be understood as if his Majesty had any intention to recommend to his Parliament the repeal of the bill for prohibiting the wear of French cambrics. This the King doth not look upon as any infringement of the treaty, and consequently doth not consider it as a thing upon which the French ministers can with any colour of reason insist. The French are doubtless at liberty to lay what duty they please, or even an absolute prohibition, on any British goods or manufactures, except in cases in which they shall be precluded by the treaty of commerce of 1713.

Having observed thus far upon what passed between Mr. Yorke and M. de Puisieux upon this

question, in which I think that minister's candour and probity, as well as his good intentions, appear very strongly; I must now pass over to the very extraordinary language held by M. Rouille on this subject. 1749.

The chief tenor of his conversation, and upon which he founded all his reasonings, seems to be that the advantage in trade between Great Britain and France was in favour of the former, and that at the time of the making the treaty of 1713 they did not understand commerce so well as they do now; for which reasons he, M. Rouille, asserts that they are not bound to comply with a treaty which he himself cannot deny to be still existing. The two assertions upon which he founds this reasoning may, I think, be indisputably proved to be fallacious; but, whether they are so or not, I think it little becomes a minister of state to refuse the carrying into execution a solemn treaty, which he is obliged to own doth still exist, upon no other foundation but that the balance of trade is not in their favour, and that they understand their commercial interest better now than they did when that treaty was made. This is much of a piece with his piquing himself upon his being *meilleur negociant que politique*. This way of talking of M. Rouille is so inconsistent with the dignity of a minister of state of a great king, that I will take up no more of your Excellency's time in evincing the absurdity of it, and shall only now inform your Excellency that it is his Majesty's pleasure that the strongest instances

1749. should be made to the French ministers, that the treaty of commerce of Utrecht of 1713 (the existence of which is allowed by themselves) be immediately and strictly carried into execution in all its articles, except the conditional ones, which could not be carried into execution (the conditions on which they were made not being complied with by England) in favour of all his Majesty's subjects trading to or residing in France, as the King is determined on his part religiously to observe all the stipulations in the above-mentioned treaty in favour of his most Christian Majesty's subjects.

I must not omit informing your Excellency that the King doth entirely approve of Mr. Yorke's declining to accept the proposal made by M. Rouille, of reducing the *Droit de Fret* on British shipping to 50 sols per ton, being the same that is paid by other nations. His argument is undoubtedly a just one, that he could not demand as a favour an exemption from part of a duty, from which his Majesty had an undoubted right in behalf of his subjects to demand a total exemption.

I am, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

1749.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

September 26. 1749.

[Had received yesterday from Lord Hyndford* the good news that the Czarina, upon our answers, had taken the resolution to be quiet, and remain on the defensive.]

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, September 28. 1749.

My dear Lord,

I was extremely glad to hear from Mr. Aldworth† that Lady Caroline was so much better. I hope nothing will prevent your Grace's coming to town the beginning of next week. This messenger will bring your Grace very good news from Spain. Major General Wall came to me this morning, and, with an air of the greatest satisfaction, told me that his cousin was returned, and had brought very good news. That M. Carvajal consented to make a new treaty, wherein we should have the *substance* of our treaty of 1715, by which he plainly showed he

* James, Earl of Hyndford, Ambassador at the Court of Petersburgh.

† Richard Nevil Aldworth, Esq., then Under Secretary of State in the Duke of Bedford's office.

1749. meant the advantages there stipulated for our trade; but, that other holders might not pretend to the same advantages, there should be the appearances of our *buying* them, by giving up the affairs of the South Sea Company. He talked of the thing as done, and that they would, upon the foot of a purchase by us, deny those advantages to other nations. He then gave me a packet from Mr. Keene to your Grace. I sent to Bedford House to know whether your Grace was in town, and upon the return of the messenger opened your Grace's packet, which being great part in cypher I sent to Mr. Aldworth, who sent it to the King, and it now goes by this messenger to your Grace. I must congratulate your Grace upon this good appearance, for though the yielding the pretensions of the South Sea Company is a disagreeable and may be a difficult point, yet the restoring the effect of the treaty of 1715, and that preferably to all other holders, the French included, is a point of such national consequence, and may tend so much to the effectual disunion of the courts of France and Spain, that I think the purchase a very advantageous one on our side, and I dare say will be generally approved.

The preventing a war in the North, and the recovering this affair of our trade with Spain, will, I should hope, make every thing easy this next session. My brother is, as your Grace may imagine, in high spirits and joy upon these two events, and begins to be much better reconciled to our accession to the treaty of 1746, with a declaration

that we should not be understood in any manner to be concerned in the secret articles to the effect of what was proposed by your Grace. I believe, also, we shall agree about the affair of the Elector of Cologne, the King being willing to act in it as Elector, and sign the treaty in that capacity, which will equally do the business, and please our friends in Holland. I shall send my Lord Chancellor word of these events, and the important considerations which are depending, and hope they will bring him to town the middle of next week. 1749.

I beg my compliments to the Duchess of Bedford, and congratulations upon Lady Caroline's recovery.

I am, &c. &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

THE EARL OF LEICESTER TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

[Mentioning a promise of the Duke to speak to Mr. Wall, to procure, through the Spanish ambassador at Rome, the release of some statues detained there by the Papal government.]

1750.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. KEENE.

Whitehall, April 24. 1750.

Sir,

The Board of Admiralty having proposed to his Majesty some time ago the sending out two frigates in order to make discoveries in the American seas, which might tend to the improvement of commerce and navigation in general, the King, always willing to promote the good and welfare of his subjects, was graciously pleased to approve of their intention, and accordingly the sloops designed for this service are now actually fitted out in the river Thames, in order to proceed upon the intended discovery at the proper time of the year for arriving in those seas during the good weather. But as this scheme has been represented by Major-General Wall, his Catholic Majesty's minister at this court, liable to many misrepresentations at the court where you now reside, and which might possibly tend towards creating an uneasiness and suspicion between his Majesty and the Catholic King, I am commanded to enclose to you for your information a copy of the Earl of Sandwich's letter to me, explaining the design of the Board of Admiralty in the equipment now intended. Upon the perusal of it you will find that the full discovery of Pepys's and Falkland islands, lying to the eastward of Cape Blanco, was the first object of his undertaking, which, when completed, the ships were to return to Brazil to

refit, to proceed afterwards into the South Sea in order to make further discoveries there. 1750.

As this latter part of the scheme cannot be carried into execution without wooding and watering at the island of Juan Fernandez, and possibly coming sometimes within sight of the Spanish coasts of Chili and Peru, it is apprehended here that an attempt of this nature may alarm the court of Madrid, and give them suspicions that his Majesty, though at present in peace with that crown, is preparing to be ready to attack them upon a future rupture, in a part where they are undoubtedly weak, and of which they must consequently be more than ordinarily jealous. This having been represented to the King in the light I have now stated it to you, he has been pleased to direct the Admiralty to proceed no further in the projected discoveries, than what is contained in the first part of the plan laid down, and to direct the sloops to return here, after they shall have searched sufficiently the seas about Pepys's and Falkland islands. As there is no intention of making any settlement in either of these islands, and as his Majesty's sloops will neither touch upon or even make any part of the Spanish coast, the king can in no shape apprehend that this design can give any umbrage at Madrid; but as it is his firm intention not only to adhere strictly to all that is stipulated in the last definitive treaty, but also to show all possible means of his desire to cement more and more the union and harmony so happily established between

1750. his crown and that of Spain, I am commanded to give you this full and circumstantial account of this affair to enable you to speak to the Spanish ministers about it, in the same manner as I have done to Major General Wall, who has promised me to write by this courier to his court in the very same language I now write to you; and I am glad to be able to inform you that I don't find him averse to our proceeding on the first part of the plan, provided we are willing to depart from the second. I have nothing further to trouble you with, but to assure you that his Majesty has been pleased, upon my laying the several despatches I have received from you, before him, to express his gracious approbation of your diligence and conduct.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Whitehall, June 3. 1750.

[Detailing his interview with the Prince of Wales on the subject of sponsors for his son, Henry Frederic, afterwards Duke of Cumberland.]

1750.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. KEENE.

(Most secret.)

Whitehall, August 30. 1750.

Sir,

Having received his Majesty's orders by a letter from his Grace the Duke of Newcastle to lay your despatch of $\frac{30 \text{ July}}{10 \text{ Aug.}}$, with its postscript of $\frac{2}{13}$ August, as likewise your private and particular letter of the same date, before those lords who are usually consulted upon the most secret affairs, that their lordships, after having taken the several points now depending into their consideration, may come to some resolution what to do in the present case, and enable me to send you instructions for your conduct in your future carrying on this negotiation with the Spanish ministers in pursuance of the directions signified to them in the Duke of Newcastle's letter; I accordingly obtained a meeting last night, at which were present the Chancellor, the Lord President, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Sandwich, Mr. Pelham, and myself, when, having taken your abovementioned despatches into consideration, as likewise the Duke of Newcastle's letter, dated from Hanover Aug. $\frac{19}{30}$, containing the King's thoughts upon the several matters now in treaty with the Spanish ministers, they did unanimously agree in opinion that I should, for the saving of time, give you directly from hence the following instructions,

1750. which it is thought by all the lords must, necessarily, in case the court of Spain is as sincere as she pretends to be, bring things to a final adjustment between the two nations, as it is conceived all the facilities that can be reasonably expected from his Majesty are now offered to the court of Spain in order to effectuate that union and good correspondence between the two nations, which the King doth on his part so cordially desire. And in this place I cannot help observing to you that I think that the court of Spain's accepting or refusing the terms upon which the King is now willing to conclude will be the surest test whether the same cordial desire of union and good correspondence doth exist in that court towards his Majesty and the British nation which the Spanish ministers have so often declared to be the case, as well at London as at Madrid. The lords before whom these despatches were laid were sensibly concerned to find that M. de Carvajal should have any thoughts of confining to any number of years those privileges which it was hoped the predilection so much talked of by the Spanish ministers towards the British nation would have secured to it for ever in exclusion of other nations. The argument you made use of to M. de Carvajal was doubtless an unanswerable one to this point,—I mean the invalidating only for a time what were before perpetual privileges, and would be indeed putting his Majesty's subjects in a worse situation than they would be should it be allowed, as the Spaniards pretend (but which

we can never give into), that the treaty of 1715 1750.
doth not exist. The treaty of 1687, the foot our commerce was upon in the time of Charles II. of Spain, which is confirmed to us by the 8th article of the treaty of Utrecht, all which treaties are specifically confirmed in the last, of Aix la Chapelle, leave the commerce of this country with Spain in a situation much preferable to that now proposed to us by M. de Carvajal. I think I need enforce no other arguments to you to convince the Spanish ministers that it is necessary for them, in case they are in earnest in these professions of their cordial desire to unite the two nations in more solid bands of friendship than it has been possible to effect for the last half century (as M. de Carvajal expresses himself), to give over all thoughts of limiting our privileges which we now enjoy upon the foot of ancient treaties and custom, to any number of years, unless the Spanish ministers should think proper to offer you in compensation of the great sacrifices it is expected his Majesty should make to them, some farther *gratias* and indulgences in commerce than what has ever before been granted to this or any other nation. Those it might not be unreasonable to limit to a certain number of years; but I can assure you his Majesty will never consent to the limitation for a term of years of privileges which his subjects have a right to enjoy in perpetuity. I have dwelt a little longer upon this, as there was some doubt amongst the lords, founded upon some ambiguity of expression, whether the

1750. privileges proposed by M. Carvajal to be granted, under the limitation of six years were not designed as additional ones to those we have already a right to demand by former treaties, or whether the exclusion of other nations from participating in them was not to be understood to be limited to the term of six years, which difficulty I must desire you to clear up to me by the first opportunity. Having now explained to you all that is needful with regard to the limitation of the privileges for any certain number of years, I must now inform you of the opinion of the lords with regard to a hint thrown out in your letter of the 8th of June, to Mr. Stone, in relation to a secret article suggested by M. de Carvajal to be inserted in the treaty, upon their accepting the proposal of passing of the debts of the company *sub silentio*. As the king was by this article (as proposed by M. de Carvajal), to engage himself not to make use of his royal name and authority in support of the company, whenever they should apply for it in their pretensions against the court of Madrid, the lords are humbly of opinion that an article of this nature would be highly improper for his majesty to acquiesce in, as by it his subjects would be deprived of that protection which is due to them, and which the King has always exerted to the utmost of his power in behalf of those of his subjects whose situation with regard to foreign powers demanded his assistance. The lords are of opinion that supposing things were so circumstanced as to require the giving up entirely

the pretensions of the South Sea company, it would be more for his Majesty's honour to do it openly and without reserve, than to give them up in a manner which will not bear the day-light. 1750.

As it appears to the lords that neither of the above expedients proposed by M. de Carvajal can be agreed to for the reasons above mentioned, I have now only to inform you of the two alternatives which you should propose to the Spanish ministers, as all that his Majesty can consent to, in order to bring the negotiation with which you are charged to a happy conclusion.

You will, therefore, in the first place, propose to the Spanish ministers, that a treaty be signed upon the plan of my counter-project, confirming to this nation all the privileges granted by the treaty of 1667, the usage in the time of King Charles II. of Spain, and the treaties of Utrecht and 1715, and that a compensation of 200,000*l.* be given to the company for the cession of their right to the four years of *non jouissance* of the Assiento contract and the annual ship, and the total extinction of the debt due from the King of Spain to the Company, and from the company to the King of Spain. That the King, upon the court of Spain complying with these terms, will consent to the omitting entirely the 10th article in my counter-project, by which the exclusion of other nations was intended, and thereby take off from the Spanish ministers the difficulties they have already said to you they should labour under, by giving to this nation the preference to

1750. all others, and likewise take off the arguments they have so often made use of, viz. that it was unbecoming the dignity of his Catholic Majesty to pay this country a sum of money in order to prevail upon them to receive exclusive privileges. I must tell you in confidence that the reasons the lords are not very anxious to have the 11th article inserted is this, that they are fearful the court of Spain will not be brought to consent to it without clogging it with a limitation of years, which they are clearly of opinion would (unless, as I said above, additional *gratias* and indulgences were granted), put the subjects of this country upon a worse footing than they are at present, as it is now asserted we are entitled to privileges exclusive of other nations, upon the foundation of custom, confirmed by ancient treaties. I can likewise in the strictest confidence further tell you, that you are hereby authorised to reduce (in case you shall find it absolutely necessary) the compensation to be given by the court of Spain to the South Sea company as low as 100,000*l.* This condescension of his Majesty will, I am persuaded, bring the Spanish ministers (in case they do sincerely wish, as they pretend to do, that this affair may be finally settled to the mutual advantage of both nations), to consent to the terms now proposed to them, which, I can assure you, are as low as they can possibly be brought to, upon the foot of a compensation, which is certainly the most desirable method.

But in case even this should not be accepted of, the lords have nothing farther to suggest to you, but the taking up the third alternative in my counter-project, viz. that the King should give up all the claims and demands of any of his subjects, arising from seizures, reprisals, &c., which it is certain is all that his Majesty can do consistent with the laws and constitution of this country, unless the court of Spain will enable him to give up the debts of the company by granting a compensation to them. I have only to add that if this alternative is adopted by the Spanish ministers upon the failure of the first, that you should by no means consent to any secret article by which the King should preclude himself from making use of his royal name and authority in support of the private rights of the South Sea company, or any other of his subjects whatsoever. 1750.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. KEENE.

(Private and secret.)

Whitehall, October 26. 1750.

Dear Sir,

Though you will be fully apprised by my public letter of this day's date of the approbation of his Majesty and of their Excellencies the Lords

1750. Justices in regard to the treaty signed by you at Madrid, yet I cannot avoid troubling you with this private letter, to assure you I sincerely join with the rest of your friends in congratulating you on the success of your endeavours, which have been exerted with so much sagacity and good conduct, that I can, without flattering you, venture to affirm, they have contributed greatly, if not entirely, to the bringing to this state of perfection the very difficult and important transactions, with the conducting of which his Majesty thought proper to honour you. As all the real advantages of the treaty of 1715 are fully secured to us by the present one, and as the small variations in which this differs from the former are calculated for our advantage, particularly the inserting in the 4th article the words *ni sobre otras valuaciones* and the word *pretenciones* in the last, give, in the first place, a total exclusion to any future quibbles about the evaluation of British goods, with which you had so much trouble at your first setting out with M. de Carvajal and M. Ensenada, and in the second place takes from those ministers and their successors any pretence for the future to mention any expectations that may formerly have been given of the crown's parting with any possessions that the circumstances of the times will not admit of. I flatter myself all impartial and disinterested persons will see this treaty in the same advantageous light to the nation as the king and his servants have done. The 100,000*l.* given to the South Sea company as a

compensation for their giving up the four years of the annual ship and the assiento of Negroes they were entitled to, as well as for the total extrication of all demands from the crown of Spain on the company, and from the company on the crown of Spain, ought to be considered by all impartial people not as a sum adequate entirely to the sacrifice the company must make on the foot of this treaty, but as a sum (if I may so call it) snatched out of the fire, and which, without the intervention of his Majesty, they could never, considering the impossibility of liquidating the accounts between the King of Spain and them, have received a farthing of. Besides all this, the national advantages gained by this treaty, for putting the commerce of Great Britain upon a better footing than it has ever been in since the time of King Charles II. of Spain, ought surely to be considered preferably to those of any company, though ever so considerable, especially as it is in the power of the public to make a reasonable satisfaction to the company for the sacrifice they have been obliged to make for the general advantage of the nation. This argument alone seems to me sufficient to satisfy all reasonable and well-disposed people; but when to this is added the absolute impossibility there was of obtaining a more ample compensation than that now given, and that which, in my opinion, seems the thing of the most real national advantage, I mean the detaching the court of Madrid from its subjection to that of Versailles, and, if I may so call it, 1750.

1750. taking it out of wardship; surely in considering the treaty in this great light, all the nation must agree in the rightness of the measure. Upon the whole I cannot sufficiently express to you the satisfaction I felt in receiving your despatch with a copy of the treaty, and I trust you will believe that its having come to this perfection in your hands, and through your management, was no small addition to the content it gave me, being, with the greatest truth*,

Yours, &c.

BEDFORD.

* "Last night came an express from Mr. Keene, with a treaty signed by him and M. Carvajal. I had but just time to read it cursorily over; but I think it answers almost all our great national points. . . . . I hope and believe when you see it and consider the whole, you will be of opinion, that my friend Keene has acted ably, honestly, and bravely." — Mr. Pelham to Mr. Pitt. *Chatham Papers*, vol. i. p. 50.

The Duke of Newcastle, probably from jealousy of the Duke of Bedford, was by no means equally pleased. Horace Walpole writes thus: —

"But come, I must tell you big news; the treaty of commerce with Spain is arrived *signed*. Nobody expected it would ever come, which is, I believe, the reason it is reckoned so good. In general they say, the South Sea Company is to have 100,000*l.* in lieu of their annual ship, which, if it is not above the 94,000*l.* that was allowed to be due to them, it appears to me only as if there were some half-pence remaining when the bill was paid, and the King of Spain had given them to the company to drink his health. What does look well for the treaty is, that stocks rise to high water mark; and, what is to me as clear, is that the exploded *Don Bengamin** has repaired what the *Patriot* Lord Sandwich had forgot, or not known to do, at Aix-la-Chapelle."

* Abused by the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole under that name, for having made the Convention in 1729. — *Walpole's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 359.

1750.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

Whitehall, November 26. 1750.

My Lord,

I have his Majesty's orders to direct your Excellency to take the first opportunity of acquainting M. de Puisieux that Mr. Keene signed, on the 5th day of October last, N. S., a treaty of commerce with the Spanish minister, M. de Carvajal, in order to settle the several points depending with that crown, in relation to the four years of *non jouissance* of the Assiento contract, and the debts mutually due from that crown to the company, and from the company to the King of Spain, as likewise some commercial points, which wanted some explanation upon the foot of the ancient treaties. I despatched the ratifications to Mr. Keene by Jackson the messenger on the 6th instant; but I have as yet received no account of his arrival at Madrid. This has been the reason why your Excellency has not before this received his Majesty's orders to communicate this treaty in form to the French court, as the King was unwilling, without first being acquainted with the sentiments of the Court of Spain, to make any previous communication of a treaty which relates solely to the two nations. But, as General Wall has informed me that M. Pignatelli has received orders from his court to communicate it, his Majesty judges no time should be lost in your Excellency acquainting M. de Puisieux with

1750. it, as I shall, by the first opportunity, M. de Mirepoix.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO NICHOLAS MAN ESQ.*

[Relative to some abuses in the Charter House.]

MR. KEENE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Private and particular.)

Madrid, December 8. 1750.

My Lord,

I have waited for this opportunity to return my most humble thanks for the honour of the private and secret letter your Grace was pleased to write to me on the 26th October by General Wall's messenger. And I likewise take advantage of it to profess my gratitude for the source of every success I may have had here; the clearness and

* Secretary to the Charter-house, of which the Duke of Bedford was a governor; the letter is written in a strain of severe remonstrance against some practices greatly interfering with the comforts of the scholars. This is but one among numerous instances with which the correspondence abounds, of the Duke's anxiety for the comfort of all who were in any degree dependent upon him: if it were necessary to print letters, in themselves of little interest to the public, they could only redound to the honour of his warm-hearted character.

precision of the instructions I have from time to time received from you, and the manner in which you have been so good as to signify them, as well as for the attention you have been pleased to show to every private request that I have taken the liberty to make to your Grace, that has had any relation to the national service. 1750.

I have real pride and happiness, my Lord, in the approbation with which you honour me. It makes the deeper impression upon me, as your sincerity is as known and conspicuous as any of the noble qualities you are possessed of. And I will draw this essential comfort from it, that I do not appear to have forfeited any part of the good opinion you had conceived of me, when you were pleased to acquaint me with your desires to charge myself with this work, nor consequently any share of that goodness and protection which you gave me leave to expect from you.

I have never been, nor ever shall be, importunate. My circumstances, after a life of some labour and disagreeable passages, are in every respect much the same as when I made the first step into it. My appointments and much more have always been expended in procuring that regard here which was necessary for his Majesty's service. But I confess I am now tempted to hope from the present occasion, and from your Grace's favour and concurrence, I may receive some such marks of his Majesty's approbation as shall be thought proper to be conferred upon me.

1750. It costs me no little pain to say thus much; but as it is the only time I shall ever trouble your Grace upon what relates to myself or my own interests, I hope you will forgive it. And that you will believe that in every station my good or indifferent fortune may place me for the rest of my days, I shall always think myself happy in having had an opportunity of showing you a disinterested zeal for the national service, and of making known to you the gratitude with which

I am, &c. &c.

B. KEENE.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. KEENE.

(Private and particular.)

Whitehall, December 20. 1750.

Dear Sir,

I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your private and particular letter of $\frac{\text{Nov. } 27}{\text{Dec. } 8}$, which I received from Jackson the messenger, and which I had the honour to lay before the King immediately upon the receipt of it, and am sorry I am not as yet enabled to answer it in so satisfactory a way to you as I wished to have done. However, I hope it may be possible, by waiting for a proper opportunity, to bring about what I so much wish for your sake; and I can assure you there shall be nothing left undone *by me*, that can contribute to

your good. I not only think that what you have brought about with the court of Spain deserves great notice from his Majesty to you personally, but also the doing any act of favour to you at this time, would be of great consequence in its public light, as it would be showing to all Europe the good opinion the King himself has, as well of the measure as of the person who brought it to perfection. For God's sake continue to cultivate this so happy union between the two nations by your skill and knowledge of the Spanish court and ministry; and above all things endeavour to bring to maturity those thoughts you have thrown out to them about their mistaken system of policy in the West Indies, which you have explained to me in your separate letter. If that could be effected, I think there would be the greatest probability that has existed for this last century of keeping a firm and lasting union between the two nations, as by it the great bone of contention would be removed. I am so much pressed in time that I cannot at present explain myself fuller to you on this point, but shall be glad by a safe conveyance to hear further from you upon it, and what hopes you may have conceived of bringing a measure of this nature, in a court so stiff as that of Madrid with regard to old prejudices, to a happy conclusion. 1750.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

1751.

THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Paris, January, $\frac{9}{20}$. 1750–1.

My Lord,

When I saw Mr. Puisieux yesterday at Versailles, I perceived he had something upon his mind that was uneasy to him, and which he wanted to disburthen; however, his conversation with me at first was very general, but it was not long before he came to the point he had most at heart. He told me he was extremely sorry to find, by a letter he had received from M. Mirepoix, in which that ambassador gave him an account of a conversation he had had with the Duke of Newcastle, in your Grace's absence, that the proposition he (M. Puisieux) had made of establishing conferences at Versailles, to settle some points, previous to the election of a king of the Romans, had been disapproved by his Grace and rejected: he said that his intention in making this proposal was not to fix the manner of the election, as that he knew would be irregular and improper to have been thought of, but merely to settle some demands that seemed necessary to be adjudged before proceeding to that election, and particularly the pretensions of the King of Prussia and the Elector Palatine, in order that all parties who had any interest in this important affair might be satisfied as much as possible, and that there might be the greater unanimity in bringing it to a conclusion: that even the pre-

tensions of the King of Prussia would not now make any part of the conferences, as he had been assured since, that the crown was in a way of being satisfied in her demands, as they had been secured to her by the treaty of Dresden. That these points once regulated, his Most Christian Majesty, so far from bringing any opposition to the proposed election, would then be ready to assist and forward it to the utmost of his power, as it would greatly concur to establish the general tranquillity, which he knew the King my master had much at heart. But he gave me to understand before he ended his conversation, that another condition would be expected, which was, an assurance from His Majesty and the court of Vienna, that they would contribute by every means in their power to secure the tranquillity of the North, which was so much the more necessary, he said, *afin* (to make use of his own expressions) *de mettre du plomb dans la tête de ceux qui souhaiteroient de la trouble.** 1751.

As M. Puisieux began this conversation with me, I made use, in answer to him, of the reasonings and arguments your Grace suggested to me in your secret despatch of the 13th December, which in that case I was directed to do; and as Count Kaunitz will in a little time be in a condition to speak to him, I thought it was proper, that in an affair which more intimately concerns his court, he should act the principal part; and therefore I re-

* *Trouble, s. m.*

1751. ferred M. Puisieux to that ambassador on all such points that he desired to be satisfied in, as more immediately related to the affairs of the empire.

I am, &c.

ALBEMARLE.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

(Most secret.)

Whitehall, February $\frac{11}{17}$. 1750–1.

My Lord,

Colonel Yorke having informed me by your Excellency's desire of all the material steps you had taken towards the discovery of the Pretender's son, and I having had the honour to lay before his Majesty your proposals for watching his motions so narrowly as to be able to fix him in some certain place, he has been pleased to approve of this design, and has directed me to inform your Excellency in this most secret despatch what measures you should take after you shall have obtained most undoubted intelligence of his haunts, in order to the getting him removed out of France. As it appears by your Excellency's letters of $\frac{\text{May } 24}{\text{June } 4}$ and September $\frac{16}{27}$ 1749, that M. Puisieux did positively declare to you, that in case you could at any time give him information where the young Pretender was hid, he would immediately take care to have him put

in arrest, and that he should be forthwith sent out of the kingdom; and as his Majesty is thoroughly satisfied that the intentions of the French king are in every respect the same they were, when those assurances were given, he makes no doubt of this demand (whenever it shall be in your Excellency's power to make it) being punctually complied with; and would, therefore, have your Excellency inform M. Puisieux that you have it now in your power to have the young Pretender's motions watched in such a manner as to be able to point out to him where he may be met with, and that his Majesty doth therefore insist that, in conformity to the treaties now subsisting between the two nations, he be immediately obliged to leave France. As it cannot be doubted but that the answer from the French minister must be a satisfactory one, after the many solemn promises made by M. Puisieux to your Excellency on this subject, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you do insist with that minister, that immediately upon the arrest of the Pretender's son (in order to prevent his returning back to France, as he did before, when he had been conducted by his Most Christian Majesty's orders to the frontiers of Savoy), he be sent by sea, either into the Ecclesiastical State, or to such other country at a distance from France as may render it impossible for him to return with the same facility he did before. This last I mention only to avoid his Majesty seeming to dictate to the court 1751.

1751. of France to what particular country he should be sent, as doubtless the Ecclesiastical State is by much the most eligible.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.*

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. KEENE.

(Most secret.)

Whitehall, February $\frac{11}{17}$. 1750–1.

Sir,

I reserve for this most secret letter (which for precaution I have directed on the outside to be opened by yourself, and which I must intreat you not to suffer to go out of your own hands,) those hints and informations which I think may be useful to you in the great work you have now before you—I mean the extinguishing for time to come those sparks which may be the most likely to kindle a war between this country and Spain, viz. the depredations on their part, and the contraband trade on ours. It may seem, perhaps, too difficult a task to undertake to root out the prejudices the Spanish nation has, for near three centuries past, imbibed of their exclusive right of navigation in the seas of the West Indies, upon which principle their present laws with regard to that part of the

* On this letter, evidently in the King's handwriting, are these words:— "I think this letter will be very proper."

world, are founded; and it must likewise appear extremely difficult to obtain here, with the consent and approbation of the merchants, such an Act of Parliament as may effectually put a stop to all contraband trade carried on by his Majesty's subjects to the Catholic King's dominions in America. But without these two points being thoroughly effected it will be vain to hope for a long continuance of that harmony which it is so much the interest of both nations to cultivate. I would therefore have you be turning in your thoughts the reciprocal concessions that must be made by each party for this good purpose, and the steps necessary to be taken both here and in Spain for bringing it to a happy conclusion. The several complaints I transmit to you by this messenger are, I fear, too convincing proofs of what I have mentioned above, that unless things can be regulated upon a surer foundation in America than they have been heretofore, depredations on one side, and illicit trade on the other, will soon put an end to that good will, and I think I may call it, natural affection between the two nations which is absolutely necessary to preserve the continuance of peace betwixt them. I must likewise, in the utmost confidence, inform you that there is very lately come to my knowledge, that orders have been sent from Ensenada to Wall, in which that minister makes great complaints of the illicit trade carried on by the English to the Spanish West Indies, and declaring to him that unless this trade 1751.

1751. is effectually put an end to by this nation, no Spanish minister can possibly advise his master to keep his guarda costas and cruisers from molesting the English navigation, which he alleges to be the case at present. How far this is from truth the several complaints I have already sent you do but too clearly evince. But I can with truth say that neither I nor any of his Majesty's servants here are conscious of any illicit trade being carried on from hence, which is in our power to prevent; and all his Majesty's governors abroad have the strongest orders to comply strictly with the forms prescribed in the several treaties now subsisting between the two crowns. I cannot therefore help thinking that this pretext of Ensenada of the contraband trade now carried on by the English is only to stop our mouths, in the complaints we are almost daily obliged to make against the guarda costas. I have troubled you with this long letter, with my thoughts upon this subject, and with the intelligence above recited, which I thought absolutely necessary for you to be apprised of; and I think I need not reiterate to you that this letter must never be communicated to any one whatsoever. I must add in this place, that the complaints I have already sent you against the Spanish guarda costas begin to give uneasiness in this country, which faction is daily endeavouring to increase; you must therefore seriously remonstrate to the Spanish ministers, that if they intend the long continuance of a firm union and harmony between the two

nations, they do immediately put a stop to the illegal proceedings of their governors and cruisers in the seas of America, as far as is at present in their power to do, as we on our part have always done, and will still continue to do, in everything that relates to the most punctual execution of the treaties now subsisting between the two crowns. 1751.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

(Most secret and particular.)

Whitehall, March 4. 1751.

My Lord,

I have received his Majesty's immediate orders to write to your Excellency by this safe conveyance to inform you that it is his pleasure you should use your utmost endeavours to find out the real cause of M. Ammon's present mission to France, and, if possible, with what instructions he is charged, and whether there is an appearance of his succeeding therein. The endeavours of the King of Prussia for the infusing into the French court groundless jealousies and suspicions against his Majesty and his allies have been so frequently repeated, and with so much rancour and malice, that the King thinks no pains should be spared towards penetrating into the mystery of this

1751. affected mission of M. Ammon at a time when his Prussian Majesty has a minister of confidence residing at Paris. Your Excellency must very well remember that Count Tinkenstein was sent immediately before his being taken into the Prussian ministry to Paris, upon an errand of the same nature as this of M. Ammon's is justly supposed to be, and I must own it appears to me highly probable that, supposing the intelligence sent by Count Goetz to the court of Vienna of a design to establish a kind of aristocracy in Sweden, by vesting extraordinary powers in the senate of that kingdom, is well founded. M. Ammon may be the person pitched upon by the King of Prussia to open this matter to the French court, and to endeavour to induce the French ministers to concur with him in this scheme. I have nothing farther to add than to recommend this to your Excellency's care and penetration.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

Translation of a Letter in Cypher from Mr. Wall to Don Joseph de Carvajal.

Whitehall, March 11. 1751.

The King's health here is a mystery, for not having appeared in public since he fell ill, and getting up each day for only two or three hours, there are some disaffected persons who say he

cannot recover, and that he has three or four mortal disorders; however, people belonging to court assure that he is better, and this seems to me to be the most likely, since it has been confirmed to me by Princess Amelia and particularly the Countess of Yarmouth, with whom I have talked and who are in good humour, which I think would not be the case if the danger was really so great as is pretended: be it as it will, I will neglect nothing in order to get information from within doors concerning the condition which the Prince is in, as it would be no wonder, at his age, if what the other says and wishes should happen. 1751.

The expedition of business is deferred on this account, and the Duke of Bedford has told me that he cannot yet give me an answer in form concerning what has happened in America to our shipwrecked fleet; however, that he believes the 2 per cent. for freight taken by the Governor of Virginia is not too much, considering the risk of transporting the money, nor the 4½ per cent. for the right which the French call salvage. That having consulted the lawyers on this head, they have told him, it was the common practice, and even conformable to the codex by the Rhodian law; that nevertheless, if they had taken too much, it should be remedied; that as to the embargo, which was laid on part of the capital to compensate for the prizes pretended to be unlawful, they had as yet received no account of the matter; that in the mean time they disapprove the conduct of the

1751. Governor of Carolina, and will reprimand him severely for having sent such orders to the Governor of Virginia, and that we may at all events depend on his (the Duke of Bedford's) doing every thing in order to oblige us, and to correspond with our good faith and sincere way of thinking.

The French ambassador here demands assurances upon assurances for the tranquillity of the North, in case his court concurs in the election of a king of the Romans, and his Grace has told me that it is his opinion, which he believes will be followed, that if it can't be done without the interposition of France, it is better not to make a king of the Romans at all, because they should at last be forced to have some condescendance for her, such as would doubtless alienate the court of Russia from this court and that of Vienna. It is certain that new difficulties occur daily, and they don't know whether they are sure of a majority, for though they reckon upon the Elector of Saxony, they may be mistaken, for the said Duke says that they will not give him a farthing, and your Excellency knows that the German Princes won't stir an inch without money, as I have likewise mentioned before now.

As to the limits of Nova Scotia the English ambassador in France expects a categorical answer, and if it is not satisfactory, they will order their commissaries to come away, and things will remain as they are; which is, very much embroiled, and the

more so, as the French now pretend that England ought to evacuate an island which is to the east of Puerto Rico, called St. Martin, concerning which his Grace has told me he knows nothing, nor has any account of its being inhabited, only that in former times Dutch, Danes, and other nations have gone thither, adding, that he leaves this kind of business to the Duke of Newcastle with pleasure, in order that he may dispute it with the said ambassador. 1751.

Last Monday the treaty with Bavaria came on in the House of Commons, and after great debates with regard to the election, they finished in approving the design, but not the means for obtaining it, upon which occasion the great orator Pitt made a long speech, wherein he likewise touched upon the advantages which resulted from the treaty with Spain; saying, that we seemed to be taking up a different system, from whence he inferred that Spain intended to be governed by herself alone, without being under anybody's influence. No one answered him, and our treaty lies still upon the table.

I am, &c.

WALL.

1751.

It might have seemed to any one who did not know the interior of the court and the cabinet, that at the end of the year 1750, the political sky was remarkably serene. A costly and sanguinary war had been terminated by a peace honourable to all parties, and the remaining causes of dissension were amicably arranged. The treaty of commerce with Spain and the settlement of the affairs of Sweden dispelled the lingering clouds which from opposite quarters portended further tempest. The ministry, which had driven the Pretender from Derby to Culloden, from Culloden to Avignon, and from Avignon to Rome; which comprised in its ranks nearly all the influence of the Whig leaders, and all the talent of the rising statesmen of the day; which, after great efforts against the united power of France and Spain, prepared in the flourishing state of public credit to reduce the interest of the National Debt to 3 per cent., might seem to the world strong and secure. But internal dissensions were hid under the smooth surface.

The political arrangement of the offices of the state was at this time seriously defective. While Walpole was sole minister, as it was termed, every other person was moved by the strings in his hand. But Mr. Pelham was neither able enough, nor ambitious enough to supply his place. The Duke of Newcastle now and then hinted that his brother was aiming at the authority of Sir Robert, but his jealousy had scarcely any foundation. The position

of the Duke of Bedford afforded better grounds for difference. The Secretaries of State corresponded, the one with the Northern, the other with the Southern courts; so that one Secretary gave directions for Vienna and Berlin, on a matter upon which his colleague corresponded with Paris. It was as if two coachmen were on a box of the mail coach, one holding the right hand rein, the other the left. Add to this the Duke of Newcastle went with the King to Hanover, while the Duke of Bedford remained in London. Personal jealousies made a difficult position intolerable. The Duke of Newcastle had wished to make Lord Sandwich Secretary of State; but Lord Sandwich opposed Newcastle at Aix-la-Chapelle, and his offended vanity would not allow the breach to be repaired. The Duke of Cumberland attempted a reconciliation; but Newcastle, instead of complying, added incivility to the Duke to hostility to Sandwich. Newcastle himself says in a letter to Stone, — 1751.

"The conduct of my Lord Sandwich during the negociation at Aix-la-Chapelle (which was then equally disapproved and resented by the Duke) made such a breach between his Lordship and me, as could not be made up; and there can be no doubt but my refusal to be thoroughly reconciled to Lord Sandwich (for every thing short of that I was willing to do) was the sole cause of His Royal Highness's the Duke's displeasure with me."

The displeasure of the Duke carried with it that of the Princess Amelia. The same feelings which alienated them from Newcastle carried them to-

1751. wards the Duke of Bedford. Thus a rivalry was commenced, which made Newcastle fretful, and Bedford haughty. The secrets of a negociation with France were concealed from the Duke of Bedford; orders were given to the English Ambassador at Paris without consulting the Duke of Newcastle. In a letter of Mr. Pelham's to his brother, April, 1750, we find this passage:—

"Alt has got the account also from the Prussian minister, and wrote it to his court; so that it will be impossible to keep it from the Duke of Bedford. Would it not be right, therefore, for you to mention it to him in a confidential way, as a thing the ambassador just hinted to you the day before the King went, and has been confirmed to you since you have been abroad? Such a communication may stop our mouths for the present; and without it, it will be impossible to keep things quiet here when his Grace returns to London. You are, however, the best judge, and will do in it as you think proper." *

On the other hand, Newcastle, in the beginning of July, was so displeased with the support and countenance given to the Duke of Bedford "by part of the Royal Family, with the acquiescence at least of some of his best friends," that he determined to retire to the easy post of President of the Council. He communicated his intention both to the Chancellor and his brother. To the Chancellor he likewise communicated his dissatisfaction with the conduct of Mr. Pelham. Among other grievances was the King's assuming to himself the sole merit of the election of a king of the

* Pelham Adm. vol. ii. p. 334.

Romans. Mr. Pelham and Lord Hardwick, whether they believed in Newcastle's threat or not, were greatly disturbed by his resolution not to remain joint Secretary with the Duke of Bedford. They admitted that the Duke of Bedford was a bad man of business; that he did nothing but ride post from Woburn once a week, and fancied he performed the duties of his office when he did little or nothing. "This," said Mr. Pelham, "is all jollity, boyishness, and vanity." But the Chancellor and the Prime Minister seemed to have thought that so long as the chief conduct of affairs remained in their hands, faults such as these were not sufficient grounds for dismissing and offending a man of the influence, rank, and weight, which the Duke of Bedford undoubtedly possessed. 1751.

The Chancellor was still more provoked at Newcastle's silly jealousy of the King.

"Your Grace owns that he does what you wish and propose, both as to English and foreign affairs. That takes in the whole circle of real business. His reserve or want of good humour, now and then, may proceed from different causes. May it not have proceeded now from his illness? Pain — apprehension of such a distemper as the gout returning and giving him frequent vexations? Your Grace knows the King much better than I do; but I should think him of a make likely to be affected by such incidents, especially when they come upon him at a time and in a place where he had promised himself nothing but amusement and pleasure.

"But, you say, he assumes to himself the sole merit of the measures of electing a king of the Romans, &c. For God's sake, my dear Lord, let him do so, and flatter him

1751. in it. A prince cannot make a minister a greater compliment than by making his measures his own. I have heard it has been no unuseful art, in some ministers, to give things that turn to their masters."

The King did not essentially differ from Mr. Pelham. He wished for a quiet life; he saw that the Duke of Bedford did not thwart Newcastle in the conduct of affairs; and he tried to quiet the irritable vanity of his minister, by telling him, that Mr. Pelham, the Chancellor, and he, had really the whole power, and that the rest of the cabinet were but cyphers. Still the perpetual droppings of discontent at length made their impression; Lady Yarmouth, who had taken the part of the Duke of Bedford, found that the King was disposed to make a change, and hinted the matter to Newcastle. He has himself recorded in his letters the progress of the intrigue. In August, 1750, he writes, that till within a few days the King had hardly made any observation on the Duke of Bedford. Nay, more — he had addressed to Mr. Stone the very natural remark, "What would you have him write about? There is nothing to do." But on another occasion, upon the usual report of Stone, that there were no letters from the Duke of Bedford, he said, "No: he does not much trouble his head about business; never man had an easier office than he has."

To so accomplished an intriguer as Newcastle, this hint was sufficient. He observes, with a sagacity which in higher matters and for better purposes would be commendable, —

"I thought that very remarkable, and that things began to work. Upon the coming in of the last messenger without one single line from his Grace (for he very seldom writes at all by the messengers), talking a little upon his Grace's subject, the King said of himself, 'It is not to be borne; he never writes;' and then repeated, 'he has an easy office indeed,' or 'he receives his pay easily,' or to that purpose. I made no reply, but left it there; but I am persuaded, by the manner, I could that morning (last Thursday) have got any orders I pleased; but I chose to say nothing, not to seem pressing, and would not take any step in this affair without your advice; and that is my resolution, however things turn out here." 1751.

In a succeeding letter he says, upon the death of the Duke of Richmond, Master of the Horse, addressing Lord Hardwicke, —

"I desired Stone to acquaint my brother by the last messenger, for I was not really then able to do it, that my Lady Yarmouth had told me she must speak to me, and took an opportunity to do it last Tuesday, in the great dining room, at the window. 'It is,' she said, '*par rapport au Duc de Bedford; le Roi veut faire quelque chose.* He never writes; and, indeed, he does nothing,' says she, 'but ride post from Woburn. This I have from the Gazettes.' I asked if the King thought of doing any thing immediately. '*Oui, je le crois comme cela.*' 'But,' said she of herself, 'will not this *fâcheux* accident furnish a means of finding an accommodation,' meaning the office of Master of the Horse. I said there were two vacancies, that and the President. 'No,' said she, '*cela il ne veut pas prendre.* I will talk to the King,' says she, 'and we will talk further of it at the Göhrde.' Since that she has told me the King did not like the Duke of Bedford to be

1751. Master of the Horse; but she believed he would give it to him, if he would take it."

Yet it was ten months from this time before the Duke of Bedford was removed. Mr. Pelham was surprised, and somewhat disconcerted, at the King's readiness to alter any part of his ministry. Speaking of the two persons mentioned by Newcastle to succeed the Duke, viz. Lord Holdernesse, then in Holland, and Lord Waldegrave, he says: —

"He that is abroad* is very trifling in his manner and carriage: he does well where he is; but he has advantages there that we know not what use he makes of. The other† is as good-natured, worthy, and sensible a man as any in the kingdom, but totally surrendered to his pleasures; and I believe that mankind, and no one more so than himself, would be surprised to see him in such an office.

"I own, if my brother could away with it, I see nothing so safe as to continue as we are, provided the other vacant offices are filled up by men of weight in this country, and such as by themselves or family will give strength and credit to the administration. That is the way, in my humble opinion, to mortify the young gentry. Show them to be useless, and they will grow cheap; and when they are so in office, we shall have less to apprehend from them out. But if nothing can either persuade the King or my brother to keep things as they are, then I would suggest to his Grace whether Halifax, amongst the young ones, has not much the most efficient talents. He heartily hates the Duke of Bedford and his friend. I do not take that to be the case of the other two. I see many objections to them all, and some to this latter that are in neither of the former; but then there is something to set

* Lord Holdernesse. † Lord Waldegrave.

against these objections which we shall have a difficulty to find in the others. 1751.

"Notwithstanding what I write now, I beg to be understood that I am neither an admirer of the measure nor of the man. You see I take for granted any proposed change will end in a breach; but, if not, where do we stand then? The Duke of Bedford will, it is true, be out of an office, in which he makes a bad figure; but he, his family, and friends, will be nearer court than ever. He will come there with the grace of obliging the King; and, if intrigues are what we fear, and nothing else do I see that is to be feared, how many more opportunities will they have for that purpose, and with what advantage will they pursue such a scheme when they have complied with the commands of the King cheerfully, and are in situations where they cannot offend, unless they desire it, but may, by obsequious and steady attendance, ingratiate themselves every day more and more.

"These are, upon reflection, my thoughts. I have some reason to think the office of Master of the Horse would not be disagreeable to his Grace; he cries it up as the properest for a man of great quality of any but Lord Chamberlain, and in some respects preferable to that; he talks much of the nearness it is to the King's person, and endeavours to make people think *that* is his principal view. But you will be surprised, after all this, when I tell you this is his scheme, provided Sandwich is Secretary of State; but, without that, he will undergo any thing rather than divide the administration and distress the King's affairs. As I came to the knowledge of this but very lately, I could not acquaint my brother with it till now, and I must insist that it goes no farther than him and you; for, if it does, I shall never be able to gain him any more intelligence of this kind."

The Duke of Newcastle wished to find how far it was intended by the King to allow the Duke of Bed-

1751. ford to become Master of the Horse. In order to open this subject to the King, he showed him a letter from Earl Poulett, asking that office for himself.

"The King read my Lord Poulett's letter without emotion. I said his Lordship was never one I greatly admired, but that he had formerly been much cried up, which put him upon all these demands. Now to the point.—The King said, in very good humour (as he was the whole time of this material conversation), 'I see (says he) your brother sees that things cannot continue as they are; and he will be proposing disagreeable exchanges to me, in order to prevent a rupture, or to keep things quiet.' (You see by this what turn the lady has given to her proposal of the Master of the Horse.) I replied, with great astonishment, 'My brother, sir, I am persuaded, has no thought of proposing any disagreeable exchanges to your Majesty. All that he has said to me upon the subject of the vacancies is, that there are now (and will probably be) three or four vacancies in the cabinet council; and he doubts not but your Majesty will fill them up with such persons as may be most for your service; but my brother has not so much as named one single person,'—as was then true, for I had not received your last letters.

The King then grew in very good humour, and entered into the character of the Duke of Bedford, and the nature of the office of Master of the Horse. He said the Duke of Bedford was proud, obstinate, haughty, and some epithets of that kind; that the office of Master of the Horse and that of Lord Chamberlain were very particular; that he could never replace the poor man that is gone; what should he do if an accident happened to the Duke of Grafton? and then many personal things of the dear Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Grafton.

"He ran out into great encomiums of my Lord Waldegrave; that he should be more than he was (in which I entirely agreed); that he would have sent Waldegrave to

Aix-la-Chapelle, when I prevailed upon him to send Sandwich; that he yielded to it out of regard to my Lord Waldegrave, thinking it a very difficult and hazardous commission; and I thought a great while that he meant Waldegrave either for Secretary of State or Master of the Horse. He said that the Duke of Bedford was absolutely governed by my Lord Sandwich, in which I agreed. The whole conversation supposed the Duke of Bedford was to be out; and (to make the King easy about the Master of the Horse, for your sake and my own) I showed him the President's place for the Duke of Bedford. That he liked extremely, and said it had business enough, and not too much; it was four thousand pounds a year," &c. 1751.

* * * * * *

'I see very plainly,' says he, 'my Lord, how lamely things go on; and do not think that I have not seen it for some time, (which, by the by, was an excuse for having kept the Duke of Bedford in so long), but,' says he, 'things in Parliament went well:' and then, or in talking of the Duke of Bedford's removal, he said, 'But, my Lord, you and I cannot do it alone; we must have the council with us,' and named no particular person to consult; but to be sure the whole meant yourself. He said once very significantly (I think upon my Lord Sandwich's subject), 'they are caballing; I know, or you may be sure, that they are caballing at this very time.' Though he spoke this by way rather of apprehension than resentment, I am from this, as well as from the King's whole conduct in this affair, fully convinced myself that the Duke of Cumberland's parties with the Duke of Bedford, and public and open support and predilection for my Lord Sandwich and the Duke of Bedford, is one, if not the chief, cause of the King's present intention of removing the Duke of Bedford from the office of Secretary of State; and though the King has never let drop one word like it to me, if you will give him the least handle to talk upon it, I am persuaded he will own it to you. This is only my own suspicion

1751. from my knowledge of the King, without having any other grounds for it."

Newcastle at this time began to think of bringing back Lord Granville — "My Lord Granville is no more the terrible man; *Non eadem est ætas, non mens!*"

In October, Mr. Pelham writes that he has heard the Duke of Bedford has changed his plan; and will not leave his office unless he can name his successor: that Newcastle would thereby be forced to advise the King to turn him out, which would cause great disturbance, and possibly break up the Ministry: that Lord Bolingbroke had spoken in this manner pretty publicly at Battersea, and quoted Mr. Pelham for saying there must be a change in the Secretary's office.

In November the King returned to England, and the efforts of Newcastle were now incessantly employed in prevailing upon his brother to urge the removal of the Duke of Bedford to the King. But when Mr. Pelham at length mentioned the subject, he met with a decided refusal. This new incident disconcerted Newcastle. He proposed to retire; to allow Lord Granville to form a new ministry; and even to conciliate the Duke of Cumberland by allowing Sandwich to be Secretary of State. His resolution produced a rupture with his brother, and all private intercourse between them was suspended.

This state of the ministry greatly encouraged the opposition. But at a time when every one

expected some blow to the administration, the sudden death of the Prince of Wales broke up the most formidable body of their adversaries. "My Lord Drax, my Lord Colebrooke, Earl Doddington, and prime minister Egmont, are distracted," writes Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury. 1751.

The weakness of the opposition caused by this event gave boldness to Mr. Pelham, and he agreed to prosecute his brother's favourite plan of removing the Duke of Bedford: but as the King positively refused to dismiss him, the brothers contrived a more dextrous plan. They asked and easily obtained the King's consent for the removal of Lord Sandwich from the Admiralty. The result was what they expected. On the following day the Duke of Bedford went to Kensington, and resigned the seals.

The Duke of Bedford's Journal * contains the following brief notices of these events.

June 13th. — This morning, just before I went out, Mr. Legge brought me a message from the Duke of Newcastle, that he had yesterday received the King's orders to acquaint the Earl of Sandwich that his Majesty had no further occasion for his service.

"This morning the Marquis of Hartington kissed the

* The Duke of Bedford appears to have kept a very accurate diary of all his transactions both public and private from an early period; it is unfortunately very imperfect: a portion of it, which had escaped most unaccountably from the other MSS., appeared in Sir Henry Cavendish's Debates, vol. i. published by Mr. Wright, who has restored it to the collection at Woburn abbey. The MS. papers there are now being arranged and placed in a convenient method for reference by the librarian, by direction of the present Duke of Bedford.

1751. King's hand on being called to the House of Peers, in order to being appointed Master of the Horse.

"These two circumstances happening the same day, and being done without any previous communication to me, as likewise the notoriety of the Earl of Granville coming into the Ministry without its being communicated to me, gave me an opportunity of explaining to his Majesty that the many grievances of this nature I had suffered since my being in the office of Secretary of State had determined me to beg his Majesty's permission to resign the seals, which the King in the most gracious and kind manner was pleased to grant, but at the same time offered me the post of President of the Council, which I declined.

"*June* 14*th.*—I resigned the seals into his Majesty's hands."

Lord Hardwicke, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, affirms that in the Duke of Bedford's interview with the King he accused Newcastle of treachery, and of a desire to engross all power to his party and his creatures.

Hence Walpole remarks on the meanness of Legge, who had been one of the most obsequious followers of the Duke of Bedford.

"*June* 13*th.*—The Duke of Newcastle wrote to Lord Sandwich that the King had no farther occasion for his service, and in the evening sent Mr. Legge to acquaint the Duke of Bedford with the dismission of his friend. Legge was a younger son of Lord Dartmouth, who had lately turned him into the world to make his fortune, which he pursued with an uncommon assiduity of duty. Avarice or flattery, application or ingratitude, nothing came amiss that might raise him on the ruins of either friends or enemies; indeed neither were so to him but by the proportion of their power. He had been introduced to Sir Robert Walpole by his second son, and soon grew an

unmeasurable favourite; till, endeavouring to steal his patron's daughter*, at which, in truth, Sir Robert's partiality for him seemed to connive, he was discarded entirely, yet taken care† of in the very last hours of that minister's power; and, though removed from the Secretaryship of the Treasury, being particularly obnoxious to Lord Bath, he obtained a profitable employment‡ by the grossest supplications§ to the Duke of Bedford, and was soon after admitted into the Admiralty by as gross court paid to Lord Winchelsea, whom he used ill the moment he found it necessary to worship that less intense, but more surely-rising sun, Mr. Pelham. He had a peculiarity of wit and very shrewd parts, but was a dry, and generally an indifferent speaker. On a chosen embassy to the King of Prussia, Legge was duped and ill treated by him. Having shuffled for some time between Mr. Pelham, Pitt, the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Sandwich, and wriggled through the interest of all into the Treasury, and then to the treasurership of the navy, he submitted to break his connections with the two latter by being the indecent messenger of Lord Sandwich's disgrace. The Duke met him on the steps of Bedford House (as he was going to Lord Gower to know what part he would take on this crisis), and would scarce give him audience; but even that short interview could not save Legge from the confusion he felt at his own policy; and, with the awkwardness that conscience will give even to an ambassador, he said, he had happened, as he was just going out of town, to visit the Duke of Newcastle, where he had not been in 1751.

* Lady Maria Walpole, afterwards married to Charles Churchill.

† He and Mr. Benjamin Keene had the reversion of a place in the revenue between them, after the death of the then Earl of Scarborough.

‡ Surveyor of the King's woods and forests.

§ They are contained in two letters still preserved by the Duke of Bedford. [These letters are published in the first vol. of this Correspondence.]

1751. two months before, and had been requested by him to be the bearer of this notification."

I have given these details, not only because they show the characters of the two men between whom the contest lay, but also because they serve to illustrate the politics of the age. In the dispute between Newcastle and Bedford, the chief advantage of the former lay in the superior sense and discretion of his adherents. Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Pelham were far better advisers than Lord Sandwich, and their weight with the public was far greater than that of the whole party which followed the Duke of Bedford. In the exercise of personal qualities, Newcastle was as usual persevering, crafty, treacherous: the Duke of Bedford showed himself a careless courtier; and, if we are to believe the Pelhams, an inattentive man of business. But the confidence and pride which Mr. Pelham calls "boyishness," were the worst of his failings; his integrity and frankness are admitted, and I may add the justice of his political views is attested by his official letters.

The general politics of the time are difficult to explain. There was at this period no principle or system of policy which divided opinion; no eminent leader whose surpassing talents separated parties into his adherents and his opponents. Newcastle was a great man in his own eyes, but not in those of any one else; Granville tried to soar, and falling was content to keep near the ground ever after. Fox had abilities equal to the enterprise of leading

the House of Commons; but his soul wanted elevation, and he exchanged power for emolument. Pitt indeed had both talents and ambition; but he was as yet content to serve and save the Pelhams. Thus the period from the fall of Walpole to the commencement of the seven years' war, while it affords matter of interest to the historian and the philosophical writer, has little to excite warm emotion, or attract cager curiosity. 1751.

MR. ALDWORTH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, April 14. 1751.

My Lord,

I have just heard that my Lord Asburnham is to be appointed Master of the Horse, my Lord Sussex, Lord of the Bed Chamber, and Mr. Pelham (Turkey Pelham) Groom of the Bed Chamber, to Prince George. The person from whom this intelligence originally comes only mentioned these three, as instances of the arts and power of the Pelhams; and my friend did not think it proper to ask any farther questions: he said he had likewise been told that my Lord Chancellor had some mind to be made governor to the Prince and President of the Council.

I am, &c.

R. Nev. Aldworth.

1751.

LORD SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Windsor Lodge *, June 13. 1751.

My dear Lord,

The master of this house has received a confirmation this morning of the intelligence I gave your Grace yesterday ; and as I think it will have a good appearance in the world, I am determined to stay here to-day, in hopes of receiving my dismission, when I am under his roof. I shall be in town early to-morrow to receive your Grace's directions, but as we are here extremely curious to know what passes among you, I should take it as a particular favour if you could let me know by Wiseman, who returns hither this evening, whether any thing remarkable or interesting has happened since I had the honour of seeing you. I hope your Grace is convinced that I am, &c.

SANDWICH.

MR. RIGBY† TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

My Lord,

If the nature of the despatch I take the liberty to trouble you with, was such as required

* Now called Cumberland Lodge ; at that time the residence of the Duke of Cumberland.

† Mr. Rigby, who became subsequently one of the Lords of Trade, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and secretary to the Duke of Bedford, owed all his advancement in public life to the Duke ; to whom it is stated he had chiefly recommended himself by his convivial qualities. As a consider-

any answer or other further notice than the perusal, I know the tranquillity you enjoy too well, by your removal from things of that odious name, to punish you with this. But as I, by the correspondence I intrude upon your Grace, may be no more trouble to you, nor looked upon in any other light than taking in one more newspaper, I will, without any more apology, fill it up with such as I have been able to pick up. The printed paper you find enclosed, is one copy of only thirty I am informed are printed off for the use of particular friends. They are wrote by Mr. Moore*, the author of Gil Blas, who now, I think, bids fair for the laureat. I 1751.

able number of his letters will appear in the course of the correspondence, the following character by Horace Walpole will afford some insight into his character by a vigilant contemporary, and who was a frequeut guest at his country residence in Essex.

"Rigby had an advantageous and manly person, recommended by a spirited jollity that was very pleasing, though sometimes roughened into brutality: of most insinuating good breeding when he wished to be agreeable. His passions were turbulent and over bearing; his courage bold, and fond of exerting itself. His parts strong and quick, but totally uncultivated; and so much had he trusted to unaffected common sense, that he could never afterwards acquire the mercenary temperament of art in his public speaking. He placed his honour in steady addiction to whatever faction he was united with; and, from the gaiety of his temper, having indulged himself in profuse drinking, he was often hurried beyond the bounds of that interest which he meant should govern all his actions, and which his generous extravagance for ever combated. In short, he was a man who was seldom liked or hated with moderation; yet he himself, though a violent opponent, was never a bitter enemy. His amiable qualities were all natural; his faults acquired or fatally linked to him by the chain of some other failings." — *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 254.

* The paper is not to be found. Edward Moore was author of Gil Blas, a comedy published in 1751; the Gamester, a tragedy; fables for the female sex; and editor of the periodical paper called the World, to which he was the chief contributor: he died in 1757.

1751. own I think the compliment contained in it as pretty, as undeserved; there is no necessity I trust, was I ever so much abler, to make comment or paraphrase upon them, considering who I send them to; one who is a much better judge of the public part of the character, and, for much nearer reasons, a more adequate one of the private. I read them at Holland House this morning to Mr. Fox and the Duke of Marlborough. The former would have got the copy from me; I told him how scarce they were, and that I could not part with them. He assured me I might be very easy upon that head, for the person addressed to would take care to have another edition of them if the jealousy of his brother did not interfere. Your Grace's brother-in-law * was of another opinion; and said he thought he would be glad to sink the adulation contained in them, lest the publishing them might bring out a reply. I was left some time alone with the Duke of Marlborough; he inquired if you was gone out of town, and seemed sorry not to have an opportunity of seeing you. He said he had been at Court and seen two Pelhams and Lord Granville: in a whisper, he had asked the Duke of Newcastle about a Prebend he had promised to speak about long ago; who answered him, "My Lord, the King has not spoke to me since your brother-in-law has been out." I never saw any body appear more chagrined than he did. Mr. Fox excused not seeing me to stay dinner, because the

* The Duke of Marlborough, brother of the Duke of Bedford's first wife.

Duke of M. desired a private conference with him. 1751.

I hope my friend will contrive to keep some Duke about the Court. I had at least three hours' political discourse with him this morning, and hope to improve myself in every thing by it against I have the honour of seeing your Grace, except in betraying you, for all the civilities I am so much obliged to you for showing me.

I saw Lady Betty * yesterday morning, and found her in tolerable spirits, considering her situation; I shall pay my court there with full as much pleasure as any where, as well because she is as unlike all that go under the denomination of courtiers, as that I have the highest esteem for her.

Lord Trentham and Lord March set out this morning at four o'clock for Newmarket, for to-day's cricket match. I have the pleasure to inform you that Dick † has won the first. I saw Taafe ‡ just now, who came to town as soon as it was over.

* Lady Betty Waldegrave, fifth daughter of John Earl Gower, married, in 1751, John, afterwards third Earl of Waldegrave; one of the grooms of the bedchamber, until he succeeded to the peerage.

† The Honourable Richard Leveson Gower, second surviving son of John, first Earl Gower.

‡ Theobald Taafe, Esq.; who was connected with Edward Wortley Montagu, in a criminal case tried at Paris, which attracted much notice at the time; amongst the letters is a letter from this gentleman, dated Paris, 1st Feb. 1752, enclosing the printed judgment, in which he says; "You may be assured I have done no one thing an honest man ought not to do; I have been most severely and cruelly used."

Horace Walpole says, "Taafe is an Irishman, who changed his religion to fight a duel, as you know in Ireland a Catholic may not wear a sword. He is a gamester, usurer, adventurer." — *Correspondence,* vol. ii. p. 409. He was member of parliament for Arundel.

1751. They did not play it out the first day, on account of some rain, and the next morning the Etonians were to go in for a hundred and odd, and lost by thirty-four notches. He tells me they are all sulky and out of humour with one another, that the *nobility* played remarkably ill, particularly Duke of Kingston and Lord Howe, who stopped behind and missed catches and let balls pass by &c.; that Dick played himself on the other side, batted pretty well and made one good catch, but missed two or three, and let the balls pass him sadly, so that Taafe carries another man in his place against Saturday, and, in short, thinks himself almost sure of all the matches. This the state of all the affairs foreign and domestic I have been able to pick up; and if it informs you a day sooner of what perhaps my brother newswriters might be a post longer informing you of, I beg you would no more think of troubling yourself with a reply to me than you would to them.

Only give me leave to add at the bottom, that I have the highest sense of obligation to my correspondent for the many favours he has been so kind to show me.

I beg leave to trouble you with my best respects to the Duchess, and am &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

June 27. 1751.

1751.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

My Lord,

If I did not give your Grace the trouble of another paper after receiving your approbation of the beginning of my journal, it would look very much as if either my wit or malice were at an end: I wish with all my heart the former was of the magnitude of the latter; if it was as copious it should take in all your enemies: if it was as keen it should make them smart for being so. Lady Betty, Mr. Bab. *, and myself, took a farewell supper last night at Lord Trentham's, who was to take leave of his papa by appointment at ten o'clock. We waited for him to supper till past twelve, and he did not return to us till one o'clock. Mr. Signet † had dined at Greenwich ‡, and came back ready primed from thence with these three hours' arguments in favour of a landlord there, against the malicious attacks, (and my Lord assures they will be impotent ones,) of, in short, yourself and about forty more, in which I am very glad to find Mr. Signet is pleased to place Mr. Fox. During the long discourse, they were divers times very near a quarrel; but I am glad ended without one, as well as without his gaining a single point in favour of Mr. Carter §, who has visibly set him to work again, and whose sore-

* The Hon. Baptist Leveson Gower, brother of Earl Gower.

† Lord Gower.

‡ Mr. Pelham's.

§ Mr. Pelham. On the breach between the Dukes of Newcastle and Bedford, Lord Gower sided with the Duke of Newcastle, and his son, Lord Trentham, with the Duke of Bedford.

1751. ness and uneasiness, I think, manifest themselves pretty plain. I know nothing that has an opposite quality to balm, if I did, I would pour it into his wounds.

Your Grace's successor*, who yet does not understand the meaning of the word resign, and has never heard of a Secretary of State being turned out, concludes that he is one for life; and poor Lady Pomfret at Windsor, and Madame God knows who at Hampton Court, and Lady Betty's Abigail at Kensington, have all warning to quit their several apartments, to make way for my Lord Secretary in all the palaces at once; in short, your leaving the Court is attended with worse consequences than either yourself, your friends, and, I trust, your enemies, expected.

My Lord Albemarle is come; was in with the King yesterday, and came out with the keys†: Lord Hyndford, they say, is certainly to succeed him in the bedchamber.

I dined at Holland House the day before yesterday with the Duke of Marlborough, who, I find, intends waiting upon you at Woburn very soon, if I understood him right about this day se'nnight. And, from Dick's intelligence yesterday through Betty Mostyn, General Wall proposed being there

* Robert Earl of Holderness, who Walpole says, "had been fetched from his embassy in Holland, to be Secretary of State. In reality, he did justice to himself and his patrons: for he seemed ashamed of being made so considerable, for no reason but because he was so inconsiderable.—*Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 172.

† Groom of the Stole.

the end of this week. I shall with great pleasure myself accept the favour of your offer, and trouble you with my company on Sunday. The town is grown extremely thin within this week, though White's continues numerous enough with young people only, for Mr. St. Leger's* vivacity, and the idea the old ones have of it, prevent the great chairs at the old club from being filled with their proper drowsy proprietors. 1751.

July 2d. 1751.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

I would not, I assure you, intrude a correspondence upon you so little worth keeping up, but upon a certainty of your keeping to the first point stipulated at the beginning of it, which was the agreement insisted upon by me, of there not being the least necessity of your putting yourself to the trouble of a reply. I don't love ripping up an old sore, especially of the Duke of Bedford's, and as I fear the best I can write will appear but as a dull remonstrance, if he is to have the trouble of making

* "Your friend St. Leger is the hero of all fashion. I never saw more dashing vivacity and absurdity, with some flashes of parts. He had a cause the other day for ducking a sharper, and was going to swear: the judge said to him, 'I see, sir, you are very ready to take an oath.' 'Yes, my Lord,' replied St. Leger, 'my father was a judge.'" — *Walpole's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 394.

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1751. a reply to it, I am touching him on the tenderest point. M. de Mirepoix, who I hear to-day has presented a memorial in the strongest terms concerning two vessels that have been seized at Nova Scotia, might as well pretend he only did it to divert my Lord Holdernesse, as I send my nonsense to you; if I am to put you to one moment's inconvenience by taking further notice of it. Upon these terms I venture to proceed: they are easy to me under this assurance, under any other they would be difficult. Dick has told you all the little intelligence this dull town afforded to the date of his leaving it, that the æra of my further information is but short. I dined the day he left it at Holland House, where, though I drank claret with the master of it from dinner till two o'clock in the morning, I could not wash away the sorrow he is in at the shocking condition his eldest boy is in, a distemper they call *Sanvitoss dance* (I believe I spell it damnably), but it is a convulsion that I think must kill him. I have since found here nobody of consequence but Lord Winchelsea and Lord Anson; he is going to Litchfield races at Mr. Pelham's request, to take all the care he can of my Lord Gower's interest; if he calls upon your Grace at Woburn in his way, I beg you will come into place again and use your interest to get him an Earldom. I heard a very extraordinary piece of news to-day, which was assured me was true, but which I shall not comment upon, and that was, that Lady Sandwich was very far gone with child.

My Lord had a cricket match to be decided this rainy afternoon with the Duke at Moulsey Hurst. I hope he won it, if my Lord Howe was not on his side. The Duke has not been sanguine enough on these cricket matches to make them agreeable to that Lord I believe; and I fancy he rather prefers the profit of a Woburn match, with all his brutal ill temper to the person he ought to be civil to, to the honour he gains at one of these. Lewes races ended on Saturday, and there now appears a little lustre again at the King's court at Kensington. Mr. Pelham was there to-day; the Duke of Newcastle is to be there on Thursday; and if he does not want all the good company in the world at Claremont on Saturday, why the King may get a commerce party at Richmond. Last Saturday there is a report that the gardener and the milkmaid played; but I, who have a proper respect to the dignity of a monarchical party, do not believe it. I breakfasted this morning at Acton Wells with General Wall; he lodges there for a fortnight to drink the waters to cure himself of no distemper. We went a shooting together, and I was not less absurd in another respect than he is in that; I tried a dog that I gave ten guineas for, without ever finding a single partridge: as far as faith can carry me though, pray, my Lord, tell Dick, I believe he is a very fine one, and if he proves so he shall have him. I am going to Mistley* the day after to-morrow in my 1751.

* Mr. Rigby's seat in Essex.

1751. way to Sudbury, whither I am invited by a letter yesterday from the corporation, to be the 2d of September to the election of a mayor, after which I hope to have leave of the honour of waiting upon you for a little stag hunting; if I trouble you with another letter in the mean time, only forgive me, and treat me in the same manner and with the same indulgence, that with greatest pleasure I reflect on your always having shown to

Yours, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

Bolton Row, August 20th, 1751.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

I beg pardon for not having returned the Bettina's* letter sooner, and am ashamed for not having thanked your Grace for communicating it to me; but as I came to town but the night before last, I did intend to have done both by to-night's post, if Dick's man had not called upon me. I chose to stay till I returned hither, where I was in hopes to have picked up some news; but you must accept the intent for the deed: for I never saw this place emptier or duller. I might as well have been better bred, and have returned you the Duchess's letter from the country; but I was afraid that, like most extreme well-bred people, I should have been

* Lady Betty Waldegrave.

very dull. I could have no notion I could have amused you by an account of how hard I drank at my corporation; or that you could have had any faith, if I had related with how much propriety and dignity I had acted as a justice of the peace; the chief and *agreeable* entertainments I was taken up with. 1751.

I breakfasted with the *Grigs* * yesterday; their looks speak them as happy as her letter did; she would have wrote to the Duchess by to-night's post, but that I promised to write to your Grace the only piece of court news which appears as marvellous in every body's eyes, as to see my Lord Holderness going in to the King to *do business.* It is no less than the marriage of the Countess of Pembroke to Capt. Bernard of the Horse Guards; that is, who was so, for she made him sell out about a month ago. If they are not married, it is publicly declared they are to be within a week. Possibly your Grace may not know him: he is a studious, reserved, thinking sort of a philosopher; and, as my Lord Chesterfield very well observed last night at White's, to outward appearance has nothing of the Nugent about him. He is turned of forty (a very respectable age, I allow), but not just that I should have imagined the proudest, the most self-interested, the stateliest Dame of Quality †

* The Waldegraves.

† Mary, eldest daughter of Richard, fifth Viscount Fitzwilliam in Ireland; widow of Henry, ninth Earl of Pembroke, married, 4th September, North Ludlow Bernard, Major in the Dragoon Guards.

1751. would have sacrificed all her dignity to: for I imagine no monarch that reigns over three kingdoms, and has a hunting-box in another country besides, will ever condescend to let Mrs. Bernard be of his parties of *pleasure*. My Lady Townsend, who I saw at Lady Bath's assembly last night, says more good things upon this event than my paper would hold, if my memory was good enough to remember them. She told me, she had already engaged her captain against my Lord's death, lest they should be all picked up.

Mr. Fox is at Southampton, dipping his boy to no purpose. I am afraid, by a melancholy letter I saw from him yesterday, his good deceased mother-in-law* has taken care, by her will, to show to what purpose he has paid so much court to her, and how sincerely she was reconciled to him, by not mentioning him in it; but, in case of failure of any of those trustees named by the Duke's will, has appointed my Lord Cardigan, and after him, Lord Lincoln.

The Duc de Mirepoix is to entertain the town for two days on account of this great birth.† The first day is to be eating and drinking, and the second a masquerade; he has already hired the Opera House; Madame la Duchesse, I suppose in a great hurry to replace herself in her tabouret,

* Sarah, Duchess Dowager of Richmond, eldest daughter of William Earl of Cadogan, died August 25. 1751.

† The birth of the Duke of Burgundy.

goes on Sunday se'nnight. I propose obeying Dick's summons, and doing myself the honour of waiting upon you the latter end of the week; in the meantime beg my compliments to the Duchess, and duty to His Royal Highness, 1752.

Who am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

Tuesday morning
(Sept. 10. 1751.)

MR. WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Arlington Street, January 22. (1752.)

My Lord,

I have taken the liberty to send your Grace the enclosed short notes of the debates to-day.* If they are of any use towards next Tuesday, by informing you on what foot the question has been put by the ministry, I shall be happy — at least, I flatter myself you will forgive a well-meant intention in your Grace's

Much obliged, &c.

HOR. WALPOLE.

* On the subsidy to the elector of Saxony. Horatio Walpole (uncle of the above) afterwards Lord Walpole, was one of the speakers on that debate; he forwarded a copy of his speech to Mr. Pitt, who says, "your speech contains much very weighty matter, and from beginning to end, breathes the spirit of a man who loves his country." The Duke of Bedford opened the debate on the same subject in the House of Lords; his Grace's speech will be found in the Parliamentary debates, with Lord Chancellor Hardwicke's notes. The notes mentioned in the letter are very short; at the end, Mr. Walpole states Lord Egmont was laid up with the gout; Pitt was not there; Lord Cobham went away; Brand, Aldworth, Rigby in the minority.

1752.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Club at Betty's, 10 o'clock.
(March 31. 1752.)

You must not expect a very long, or a very entertaining letter from this place, at this time; but to let you know that we merely exist, I am appointed by Lady Ossory * and Lady Betty, the only members present, to inform you of the very few occurrences that have passed since last post day. My Lady Tankerville † is appointed governess to Princess Augusta, with 600*l.* a year, much to Mr. Pitt's satisfaction I presume. The King is gone this morning to Harwich, and I imagine will stay there to-night, as the wind blows very hard easterly. We below stairs are as much concerned at another departure of the day, I believe, as any body over our heads, though we have a fair wind.

Politics have been at a stand ever since you last came out of the House of Lords; and gaming ever since Trentham went to Newmarket: so I can say nothing to you upon those two heads. White's is much forsaken; the Duchess of Norfolk to-night, and Wall last night, undid the round table, as much as that has done Dick Edgecumbe. His Royal Highness made amends last night by giving a great

* Widow of the Earl of Upper Ossory, and sister to the Duchess of Bedford, married to Richard Vernon, Esq.

† Alicia, third daughter of Sir John Astley of Pateshull, in Staffordshire, Baronet.

supper to us three present, and Messrs. G. Pitt, Selwyn, Abergavenny, Mr. Bab. and Keppel. The ladies staid till half an hour past two, and then, *nous autres*, paid our court properly. Betty bids me say Jack Boscawen is going to be married to Mrs. Courtenay. Mr. Villiers * was married yesterday morning, and is retired for a fortnight. The Duchess of Norfolk † is to be at home three Tuesdays; and sent Lady Ossory this morning her option of them; but has pinned Lady Betty down to the 14th. Lord Gower's horse succeeded as usual yesterday; March is come to town to what they call chasse to-night at Norfolk House, and is not sure whether he returns to-morrow, any more than Dick is whether he goes or not. My prudence, and not my poverty, this time keeps me away, for I have won 500*l.* this week, and do not go there to throw it away. I have no more time but to add that we drink absent members. 1752.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

Fox's horse ran yesterday, and though it did not win, he lost no money, he not having betted against the horse that came first.

* Thomas Villiers, created Earl of Clarendon, commissioner of the Admiralty, married Lady Charlotte, daughter to William Capel, third Earl of Essex.

† Mary, second daughter and co-heir of Edward Blount of Blagdon, in the county of Devon, Esq., wife of Edward, ninth Duke of Norfolk.

1752.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

My dear Lord,

As I told you at the proper time when I should have done it, that I was not so good a speech maker as Mr. Pitt, you must accept of my thanks for the great honour you have done me in this second-rate manner. I must, however, for myself at the same time declare, that though I cannot express either my obligations or my attachment to you in so good oratorical language, I can keep my word better, and be more faithful to you in every respect. But not to read you a panegyric upon myself, instead of a letter of thanks for your favours to Mistley, I will have done with egotism, and assure you I am infinitely obliged for the favour of your visit. It convinces the world of what I am most desirous they should know; that I am extremely well in your good graces; and it convinces me of what makes me more happy (if indeed I could want conviction), that I am so also in your friendship.

And now to send you what little news I have been able to pick up yesterday; for the day we landed, Ascott Heath races had engaged the few people that remained in town, and I could find no soul to dine or sup with. In short, I have seen but three intelligent beings, Lord Waldegrave, Fox, and Harris.* The first entertained me with

* James Harris, father of the first Earl of Malmesbury; he filled several public offices, but is better known by his works, which were published by his son, Lord Malmesbury.

shewing me his speech to the Stannary parliament, as Lord Warden; as good a one at least as I think they deserve; he does not go himself, but leaves it to his Vice Warden to deliver, though the latest precedent of the absence of a Lord Warden at the opening of their convention, is in James the First's time; but I think he preserves his dignity at the same time that he confesses his ignorance (of tin matters I mean), as well as it is possible; you will see it hereafter in the newspapers. He was at the above mentioned races on Tuesday, where the Duke of Cumberland's horse ran, and would have been distanced if his master had not been higher bred than himself: there was much company there and the Duke invited Lord Waldegrave and his companion *Lord Anson*, to Cranbourne that night, but they did not go. Sandwich was not there. He gave me to understand things go special bad in Germany, whatever they may do in Great Britain. If two or three more *Doers* as they call them in Scotland get knocked on the head before the meeting of Parliament, I think your Grace's two points of opposition will bear to have something more said upon them. 1752.

There are an hundred stories about Montagu and Taafe, and they say put about by Mons. Lamberti. And a very fine vulgar story of the King of France having taken Lady Coventry into keeping, and Lord Montford's* having sent for

* Henry first Baron Montfort.

1752. Madame Pompadour. Lord Pulteney * is certainly going to be married to Miss Gunter Nicholls; they are at Scarborough together, have been at Castle Howard, since every thing was fixed; where Lady Carlisle observed, the lady must have as much humility as money to bear such an address. Mr. Fox told it me as a good thing, and as she is a friend of the Duchess, I transmit it to you. He is very angry with me for not remembering which cornice, in the pattern he sent, the Duchess most approves of, for he is going to alter his seat, and would have done it according to her taste. By the way, before I have done with Lord Waldegrave's intelligence, Lord Anson had a letter yesterday from his brother with an account of Lord Gower's being much worse. I called upon Mr. Bab since to inquire, but he has been gone this week to Trentham.

And now to descend to my conversation with Harris; he asked me who the Duke of Bedford had set up at Lyme, to which I pleaded ignorance. He answered he did not believe me, but he would tell me all he knew as much as if he did. That there were three brothers there disposed to give Frank Fane disturbance, in so much that Harry Fane of the Treasury, his brother, was now gone down to the place; that though they were alarmed they were not terrified, though so great a name was made use of, for that the right of election was such,

* Only son of the Earl of Bath: he died unmarried in the lifetime of his father, in 1763.

they were not to be dispossessed, and that Frank Fane who does not love it, would yet spend anything rather than part with it; the candidate is another brother, Thomas by name, who has been in trade at Bristol all his life. And, which is the most extraordinary part of the whole, old Scrope's breath had not been out of his body four and twenty hours, before Mr. Pelham gave Frank Fane a caution against the Duke of Bedford's nominating somebody there against him. Frank Fane himself told Harris this. 1752.

So far I wrote you this morning, but as I intended dining at White's, would not seal up my letter in hopes of some further intelligence. Alas! I have got none, for there were only Lord Waldegrave, Charles Stanhope, and Willis, who knew nothing more than what all the world knows, that Sir G. Vandeput was nominated last night at the Crown and Anchor in a very cold manner in a very slender meeting. In going to dinner I met Lady Caroline Duncannon* in her chair, who gave me a very gracious smiling bow, which I own I deserve from her; her Lord and she set out to-morrow for Chatsworth, and I don't in the least doubt will return your Grace's visit in kind. This instant Harris is come, and tells me of your Grace's great civility in sending him half a buck; I must return you my joint thanks, as I believe I am partly included in the present. He desires me to make his

* Lady Caroline Cavendish, eldest daughter of William, Duke of Devonshire.

1752. most grateful compliments to you, and to assure you, that in all matters except those of administration, he is your most devoted servant; and that if you can find out any way he can serve you in, except by mere starving him, he will most readily obey you: but must add, that as he cannot live upon venison alone, you must consent to Mr. Pelham's finding the claret; whose health of the two he will most sincerely drink over it, I can guess as well as if I was to toast. I shall, however, not partake, for I have a letter from Dick to meet him at dinner to-morrow at Tunbridge, which I mean to obey. Lord Waldegrave talks of going with me, but he is appointed plenipotentiary between Fanny Murray and Mr. Robinson, in a treaty of peace that I believe will engross too much of his time to allow of any absence. You are like to enjoy some more of the great Mr. Pitt's company, for I hear he is gone to Bath, to make a long stay there for a violent disorder in his stomach. I hope the waters are not a cure for ambition, as at this time I wish no perturbed spirit rest. He was going to Cornwall, not I presume to figure in Waldegrave's parliament, if he had been well: but more likely to purchase his brother's estate there. I think I have heard no other earthly thing that I can scribble to you, but that things go on bitter bad with our Betty's mistress* about New Park; there are not only claims set up of thoroughfare by several parishes, but

* Princess Amelia, ranger of Richmond park. Her royal highness refused admission to the park.

a right of timber to mend parish hedges, and fuel for the poor, and an immense sum is subscribed to try who is to prevail. I own I am not sorry who avenges my private quarrels with her. When I look back I find I have wrote enough to tire any body, even with your partiality to me, and begging your pardon for it conclude with having the honour to be, &c. 1752.

Aug. 13th 1752.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

October 5. 1752.

I should have informed your Grace by the first opportunity after my arrival here, that I had brought your Tavistock safe to Bedford House, but that he promised me he would do it himself by last night's post, through the more agreeable channel of Car.*. I called upon him to-day, and find he has kept his word, and you will know to-morrow morning that I will do my best to prevent his coming to any harm whilst in my hands. Indeed, if I had not the great regard that it is my pride to profess for his father and mother, I should, for his own sake, have an equal affection for him. I find I never knew him till I was tête-à-tête with him; I am enamoured at his understanding, and with all your own doting upon him, I am sure you may

* Lady Caroline Russell, sister of Lord Tavistock.

1752. safely be so at his prudence. I introduced him to Lord Chesterfield, as I imagine he has told you, at Newbury. At Windsor, Aldworth came to invite us to a turtle feast, but if we had loved it ever so much, should not have chose coming into town in the dark. We saw both the Duke's lodges*, his hounds, and his wild beasts, and I flatter myself, were very little tired of one another when we found a necessity to part. He tells me he is gone into Terence to-day, and I propose going to Mistley to-morrow. Newmarket has made this place emptier than it has been even the whole summer. I found Jack Sebright on Sunday night, but he went yesterday morning to the races. I called at Lord Trentham's, but they know nothing of him. Aldsworth informed me that Lord Fane had declared for Reading, and there is a report that Lord Chief Justice Lee's son is to do the same for Westminster. I met Miss Carter† in the park this morning coming from Greenwich, and had a gracious smile from her, but she seemed, I am sorry to say it, as well satisfied with the thoughts of setting out for Lee's Court on Friday next, as if she was to go to Mistley. I can't bear her for preferring her own coach to the Colchester stage. She makes Mr. Watson as happy as he is capable of being on Thursday; if she makes him perceive even that he exists, she must have some secret charms.

* Duke of Cumberland.

† Grace daughter of Mr. Pelham, married October 13. 1752, Lewis Watson of Lee's Court, Kent; subsequently created Baron Sondes.

I know no other domestic intelligence but that Mr. Gifford is a very middling actor, and Mrs. Bland no better an actress. That old Horace * is the author of the pamphlet about Wool, and my Lord Rockingham †, to whom it is dedicated, is to be an universal genius. I suppose Lord Chesterfield shews a copy of Dick Edgecombe's verses to Harry Day, which I think scarce worth sending, but lest he should not, and as they are admired at White's, I send them to your Grace in another cover. I do not presume to send foreign news to a place of such intelligence as Bath. I suppose you know the Pretender's son has turned protestant, and gone to marry the Princess Amelia of Berlin; that when he is tired of his wife, he is to march with forty thousand men to Hanover, and though he thinks he has little chance of being made King of England from thence, means to content himself with being junior elector, till better things offer. That the Margrave of Anspach ‡, Knight of the Garter, as you may have observed in the newspaper having the same patriotic views, has wrote circular letters to the Princes of the Empire not to proceed to the election of a King of the Romans, without the necessity of such election being explained. That in short, and upon the whole, unless the Germanic body will give themselves the trouble to adjourn to the House of Lords, and hear the 1752.

* Horace Walpole.

† Charles, second Marquess of Rockingham.

‡ Charles Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg Anspach, K. G.

1752. necessity of their own welfare explained to them there, I do not see that we are likely to succeed in that truly British measure. Your Grace must excuse me for wishing if they do come, you would explain it to them this year, as you certainly left it a good deal in the dark the last. I have the honour to be with the greatest affection and sincerity,

Your, &c.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Mistley, October 19. 1752.

My dear Lord Duke,

I cannot help returning you my thanks jointly with the commission I am charged with from the Mayor and Corporation of Sudbury, forwarding, from them, for the present of venison your Grace was so good as to honour them with. Your health went round after dinner, to the amazement I saw, of some of the company, who, if we were to toast a Duke, did not expect the title to be Bedford.

Notwithstanding that, I never saw so good a prospect there yet; my colleague* seems as much disposed to be friends as I could wish, and I have all sorts of assurances and promises, as good ones of the sort, I believe, as are to be relied upon.

* Thomas Fonnerau, Esq.

I staid with them two days, and visited both friends and foes, and find none but are equally well disposed for what they call peace and good neighbourhood. If those are synonymous terms for Fonnereau and Rigby, I heartily wish it them. I hope your Grace and the Duchess find equally great benefit from the waters. That Johnny and Betty find nothing but good luck, and Dick a thousand *chasses;* and this time I hope of the wealthy sort, as the beautiful ones have turned out so ill. Whether you have any more of the Porter Club to send my best wishes to I do not know, living here entirely in the dark of what is passing in the world. I have had a letter, indeed, from Sir Charles Williams, but as I voted against German subsidies, he has not entrusted me with any secrets he is charged with at the Diet at Grodno. He writes to me for an ear trumpet, such a machine as Will. Harvey uses to hear with, I imagine it to be a political scheme to be applied to the ears of certain princes in the empire. I have wrote him word back, I suppose he would have it made of gold. He is very pressing to me to be expeditious in sending it, as I can have no notion the vast consequence it is of to him. If I had not a pretty adequate idea of the Germanic body, I would take care he should not have it till after the meeting of the Parliament. But as the last newspapers inform us, that three houses, nearest related to that of Hanover, as Saxe-Gotha, Anspach, and Cassel, are at this time representing against the election of a King of the 1752.

1752. Romans, I fancy there is no great danger, but Mr. Pelham will break his word as publicly with the Parliament and mankind, as your Grace well knows by experience, he is capable of doing in private. If I was sure he would open this letter, though I hope my regard for you would carry me very great lengths, yet my aversion to him would make me more copious. As that is doubtful, the describing the blackness of his heart, and his hypocritical show of virtue and honesty to you, to whom, as of course, by being obliged to you, he has most apparently manifested them, is needless. I wish you may have found any body at Bath as capable as I am willing to let him hear of his last year's promise in public; for I am convinced he dare no more venture into the House of Lords. I wish you could as effectually banish him where you would please to send him, as you have from thence. But to turn from the most odious to the most pleasing subject, and so conclude, I hope Car. is well, and beg my best compliments to the Duchess and her Ladyship, who am your Grace's, &c.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Feb. 16th and 17th 1753,
Friday Afternoon.

As the Duchess has told me she intends sending an express to you to-morrow to Woburn, I take the liberty of conveying by it, as exact an

account as I can make out of the most extraordinary event that has happened in politics for a long time. You will find by the detail my authorities for the truth of it. To begin therefore with your Grace in the same way as it was open'd to me, I must tell you, the day before yesterday, H. R. H. sent for the Miller,* and appearing to be very full of something, began with asking her what she thought of this bustle; the Miller who had heard of none, easily discovered she had not, which the other perceiving, would have stopt short, but as she had put such a question to her she insisted upon being trusted, and then H. R. H began; that his Majesty had told her that there was a certain person that was to come up to London charging the Solicitor General, Mr. Stone, and Bishop Johnson, with the strongest imputations of disaffection to himself and his family, and that a cabinet council † was ordered to be held 1752.

* Lady Waldegrave; her husband had been appointed governor to the Prince of Wales, December 18. 1752.

† Horace Walpole gives the following account of this affair: — "For about this fortnight there have been strange mysteries and reports; the Cabinet Council sat night after night until two o'clock in the morning. We began to think that they were empannelled to sit upon a new rebellion, or invasion at least; or that the king of Prussia had sent his mandate, that we must receive the young Pretender in part of payment of the Silesian loan. At last it is come out that Lord Ravensworth, on the information of one Fawcett, a lawyer, has accused Stone, Murray, and Dr. Johnson, the new Bishop of Gloucester, of having had an odd custom of toasting the Chevalier and my Lord Dunbar at one Vernon's, a merchant, about twenty years ago. The *Pretender's counterpart* ordered the council to examine into it. Lord Ravensworth stuck to his story; Fawcett was terrified with the solemnity of the divan, and told his very different ways, and at last would not sign his deposition. On the other hand, Stone and Murray took their bible on their innocence, and the latter made a

1753. on purpose to examine the truth of the allegation. This cabinet council was held last night at Newcastle House, where this person the accuser appeared to be no other than Lord Ravensworth, and he was examined for five hours together before them of the Cabinet Council, and others I hear they judged proper to call in, though their names I have not heard. This Lord has brought with him out of the North a Mr. Fosset a lawyer of good credit and character in that county, who is the evidence, and who together with Lord Ravensworth is to be examined to-night at the second council. Very little has transpired of what my Lord deposed, and it is a good many years ago that the transaction (of whatever kind it was) passed, which is to be the proof of their jacobitism, and it happened at the then Bishop of Durham's, then in the North as I understand. My Lord Holdernesse, the Miller tells

fine speech into the bargain. Bishop Johnson scrambled out of the scrape at the very beginning; and the council have reported to the king that the accusation was false and malicious." — *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 465.

The debate on Fawcett's testimony in the House of Lords, which terminated without a division, is reported in *Walpole's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 290, who says of Lord Ravensworth, "That his temper was naturally very hot; he was reckoned honest; his manner of prosecuting his measure whatever was the end, was neither warm nor over righteous. He tampered with the Duke of Bedford, communicated his papers to him, and even told him that it would not be disagreeable to him to be called upon in the House of Lords to explain his conduct. Yet to others he protested that he had no dealings with the Duke. His Grace was warned of his intricate behaviour; yet being still warmer than Lord Ravensworth, and incapable of indirect policy himself, he slighted the notice; and on March 16th acquainted the Lords that on the Thursday following he should move for the papers relating to the examination of Stone and Murray."

me, carried the intelligence after the Council broke up, to the King at the masquerade, and had a very long whisper there, first with him and then with Lady Yarmouth; their faces are most extremely long to-day at Court, and the drawing room to-night is put off under the pretence of the King's fatigue after the masquerade, but his fatigue arises from not sleeping, as he declares for thinking of this event. The zeal of the Miller's mistress makes her afraid enough will not come out against them; but I have no idea a man of Lord Ravensworth's * sense and knowledge of the world, would have undertaken so violent a measure without sufficient and substantial proofs to support himself. So much for my intelligence from the Bettina's quarter; from that of her cher moitié, through his brother, I learn Mr. Stone's great temper and coolness; they have talked together upon it, and he despises the information with the appearance of so much innocence, or art as to make *old Wall* rather think him not guilty. There may be another reason between your Grace and me for that perhaps; which is, the more culpable Mr. Stone is proved to be in his principles and politics, the less honourable light Lord Harcourt's successor will certainly stand in, but it is to you only I would make reflections to his disadvantage. You will naturally recollect where I had the honour to tell you his partiality was fixed, and that most strongly cooperates with a desire this man should 1753.

* Sir Henry Liddell, Lord Ravensworth, so created in 1747, died in 1784, when the barony became extinct.

1753. be innocent. You see from the two quarters where my intelligence comes, all I have been able to collect of this affair; it is yet to the world an absolute secret, though from the nature of it, in two or three days it must be quite public. It is in my opinion a great event, for though Lord Ravensworth should have been wrong-headed enough to have undertaken a violent measure of this kind without a possibility of doubt arising of their guilt, yet the very accusation brought by a person of his rank and character, will set such a mark upon them as they will never be able to wipe off, for mankind will naturally say, the Cabinet Council were afraid, and dare not but declare them innocent. I wish to God your paper may come out to-morrow; if you had been a prophet, and could have foretold events, you could not have framed one more à-propos; and they will naturally think if the fools do but print it, that it is wrote by somebody in this secret. I shall certainly inclose it with this if it is published.

In what I have said yet, I have appeared rather doubtful of what is to come out, but if Lord Ravensworth is as much informed as he ought to be before taking such a step as this, think what a field of glory and triumph here lies open for your Grace: if these zealous Whig brothers have been no worse than the dupes of three or four artful Jacobites, I rejoice to think how you may turn that pretty panegyric in the House of Lords the other day upon them. I own I do think, who am not apt to be sanguine, this event may turn out

at this time of tranquillity, when one least expected it, so much to their prejudice as to alter the false opinion they have influenced mankind to have in their favour. Those who will remain to have the best opinion of them, cannot but think them the tools of their inferiors. 1753.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

As you gave me leave to trouble you with an account of the progress of the Marriage Bill*; and to send you one, as filled up in the committee, and upon the report. I shall begin by letting you know that by to-night's post you will receive one, as completed in the House of Commons, and a very different one you will find it from what came down from your house, scarce four lines together of the same bill; but not having quite so good a knack at it as yourself, I shall make no comments upon it, such as it is. The committee sat upon it till

* A bill for the better preventing Clandestine Marriages. It was debated in the House of Commons. At this time Walpole says, "The session of parliament was languishing towards a conclusion, when a bill sent down from the Lords to the Commons, and which had passed almost without notice through the former house, having been carried by an hundred Lords against the Duke of Bedford and eleven others, raised, or gave occasion to raise, extraordinary heats. This was the famous *Marriage Bill;* an act of such notoriety, and on which so much has been written since, that it would be almost impossible, at least very wearisome, to particularize the debates, and very unnecessary to enter much into the state of the question. — *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 293.

1753. eight o'clock on Thursday night, and the House till ten last night. I did not attend it the whole time on Thursday, but was with Mr. Fox the whole evening afterwards at Holland House, and I understand I did not lose much entertainment. He talked much to me of your Grace's attending it in the House of Lords, and of Lord Granville's taking part with you in it; but when I put the issue of your giving yourself that trouble upon the certainty of that Lord's behaviour, he fairly owned to me he would not take his word for a farthing, nor trust him for half an hour. In one thing he spoke out, for he told me he expected the Chancellor would fall severely upon him, and he should be extremely glad to have you for his advocate. How far your Grace will think there is a necessity for your being his parliamentary one, I shall not presume to guess: blended with this cause and this bill, no doubt if you were present you would be his strongest defence, as the Chancellor's unfair reply to you was almost as provoking on one part as Fox's abuse upon him on the other. Yesterday as I mentioned, we sat till ten, and a much duller day I never knew in Parliament. We had one division, whether a clause, offered by Fox, to legitimate all children born before wedlock in case the parents married afterwards (as is the case in the civil law and in the law of Scotland) should be read a second time, or not. We were but 26 against 102, Mr. Pelham himself dividing the House. We did not mean to divide ourselves, not

much, I believe, intending to push the clause, but bawling a very noisy Aye, and the Speaker wishing well to it, said the Ayes had it, and we were obliged to go forth, many of the enemies of the Bill even voting against us. The third reading is appointed for Monday, when a very long day is expected, as the debate has been in some measure postponed for it; and consequently it will be in your House on Tuesday, the Parliament rising on Thursday. If you do not think it worth while to give yourself so much trouble, I will meet you at Matthews's, according to our present appointment, to dinner on Tuesday, being every where and at all times &c. 1753.

RICHARD RIGBY.

Saturday, June 2. 1753.

I inclose you the Protester*, because I mean my boy should be at Woburn to-night, and the post will not carry it you till to-morrow; I think it an extremely good preface to a political paper, and heartily wish success to the tribe of the Barebones. The Lords passed the Broad-wheel Bill yesterday without any amendments.

* "A new anti-ministerial paper, supported at the expense of the Duke of Bedford and Beckford, and written by Ralph, a dull author, originally a poet, and satirized in the Dunciad."[a] — *Walpole's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 301.

[a] Silence, ye wolves, while Ralph to Cynthia howls,
And makes *night* hideous — answer him, ye owls.

1753.

ALDERMAN BECKFORD TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Soho Sqr., July 28. 1753.

I had not the honour of your Grace's letter till yesterday, having been from home for some time, which will plead my excuse for not answering it sooner. I took the liberty to send a turtle, as it seemed very excellent in its kind. Your Grace's kind intention of sending warrants for two bucks, will be gratefully acknowledged. Venison is always acceptable to corporations where the members are above the commonalty and not too numerous. The gentlemen of Sarum seem not much averse to the transfer of my interest to my brother, and I am in hopes two or three meetings of jollity and good entertainment will fix him in their esteem. I scarcely know a more disinterested set of men in the kingdom.

As I have always entertained a high opinion of your abilities and way of thinking in public affairs, this consideration will, I hope, plead an excuse for my presumption in looking upon you as a friend; according to Cicero's rule, "Idem sentire de republica, initium est amicitiæ." Your Grace shall always find me ready to shew myself, on every occasion, both public and private, your Grace's most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM BECKFORD.*

* Mr. Beckford was member for Shaftesbury. His brother, Julian Beckford, sat in the next Parliament for New Sarum.

1753.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, August 3. 1753.

My dear Lord Duke,

Sir Charles Williams is not yet come, nor have I heard when he does, therefore you must not expect this letter is to inform you of any more subsidiary treaties, or to contain any foreign politics, (though I dined yesterday with the Ambassador of Spain*,) that is to take off your attention from your provincial concerns you are so deeply engaged in. You will rather imagine, when you get to the end of it, that I have wrote for my own amusement in this desart of a town, than for yours to whom I send it. However, lest the Tories should come heartily into your interest in Bedfordshire, or the corporation be in earnest desirous to serve you, that you may not be surprised at unnatural connections, and think them confined to that part of the world, I must tell you that last Sunday, the morning that I breakfasted at Holland House, and, as I told you, left my Lord President† and his friend with the master of the house, we were succeeded at dinner there by Messrs. Stone and Murray; not two tradesmen or boroughmongers of that name, but the individual and identical persons that figure most in the world under those appellations. I am bad at unravelling riddles, which you are not; if I were as honest as you are, I should be much worse at decyphering a politician's civilities; but

* General Wall. † Lord Granville.

1753. with all the bad ideas I picked up of them in the Walpole and Winnington schools, I must leave this to your greater perspicuity and better opinion of mankind to guess at. I never heard of either of them at that house before, nor was I told of it that morning; but Dick Edgcombe, who dined there, told me at White's when I came from Streatham. I shall tell Fox when he returns from Blenheim: to be sure it was for the Solicitor-General to report to the Chancellor how happy people may live under a clandestine marriage.* By the way, which I am sure you will not be sorry to hear, I won five hundred guineas that night at White's. Joe Wight dined at Harris's with me, and is full of gratitude for your venison and attention to him. A piece of parliament intelligence I got from him, I must tell you: six thousand of the marriage bills that are sent into the country are found out to be false printed, and obliged to be recalled: the blunder is in the dates. Harris would be obliged to your Grace for his venison you was so kind to offer: the beginning of next week if it suits.

We dined at Lord Waldegrave's; half a dozen from White's, and as many of his own family, as unlike each other, I trust, as his present from his former way of life. We found cards indeed before dinner; but no card table. After dinner they were our match, for at eating and drinking I never saw their superiors, particularly Mr. Scott, whom I had

* Alluding to Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Bill, and Mr. Fox's marriage to Lady Caroline Lennox.

never seen before: he seems shrewd and cunning; but though I have no great faith in countenances, I would not trust him with untold gold, nor, for Lord Waldegrave's sake, with any thing but what I would wish to have told. He affects the jolly fellow however, and so gets to these dinners, to let his graver patron know what is said at them. 1753.

I yesterday met Sir John Elwill* in the street, and asked him after the opposition at Guilford; he told me they had settled it all amicably the day before there. The Speaker and Lord Onslow have made up all matters, and Sir John and the General again are to come in for Guilford, and the Speaker and Mr. Bugden†, as far as they can settle it amongst themselves, for the county. I have since heard from another person who lives at Epsom, that Lord Baltimore has offended all his neighbours extremely by shutting up his park.

Mrs. Pitt came to town the day before yesterday to take leave of Madam Stafford, who is going to France; they came and made tea for us at General Wall's at Chelsea last night, and bespoke me to Liotard's‡, where I sat all this morning, and am to *coterize* again all night with her to-night at Vauxhall or somewhere, as we are to fix in the park. Pray tell the Duchess I am in the wrong,

* Fourth baronet of that title, created 1709: he died 1778 when the title became extinct. He represented Guildford in Parliament.

† Thomas Bugden, Esq., member for Surrey.

‡ John Stephen Liotard, a miniature painter. He was called the Turk, from his habit of wearing the costume of that nation and a long beard. He was born at Geneva.

1753. as I always must be when I dispute with her Grace about Lady Caroline's admission, for it was with difficulty I could bring about her being sent to, to be of the party. Mrs. Pitt tells me she has been a buck-hunting three days in the week at five o'clock in the morning, and drinking strong beer with the freeholders at that hour, to convince them she is an Englishwoman. She returns to-morrow to assist her worst half* at the meeting of the seventh at Dorchester. I do not doubt but that upon a like occasion, where you now are, has gone off as you could wish; and desire you will inform your little candidate, that though she is not quite so robust as your Dorsetshire friend, that she must follow her example as far as she is able. I am afraid it won't be of use to us to draw a parallel, or else we would strike out the word hunting, and insert the word dancing. The latter though, you must insist upon, *if one of the fiddlers don't run away, and so make it impossible to go on.*

I am sure I shall tire you if I rattle on any further, and therefore begging my best compliments to the Duchess and Lady Caroline, only add, that I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

Pall Mall, 7 o'clock,
Aug. 3. 1753.

* Her husband, John Pitt, Esq., member for Dorchester, one of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

1753.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Pall Mall, Oct. 13. 1753.

My dear Lord Duke,

Since I had the pleasure of seeing your Grace last, though I have got the better of one antagonist at Sudbury, I now find myself attacked by one who brings the united force of Sir Joshua Vaneck* and the Treasury against me; young Walpole†, that married this naturalised baronet's daughter, has been there, throwing away money as if the land tax was still at four shillings in the pound, or old Horace has touched a considerable share of the money for the Jew's bill. My intelligence from the town is, that he met with but a cold reception from my friends the weavers, who, though they have no objection to his money, have declared many against him; indeed, I had sufficient notice of his intentions to accompany his public entry with a letter from me, that I had read to most of the people of the place as a true character of the young man's father; that must naturally give them a hatred to the son, as I just hinted he was likely to prove equally worthy. I am going there to-morrow, the mayor's feast being on Monday, and if I am but able to draw, as I shall endeavour to do, a true character of the parents of this fresh

* Created a baronet, 1751. Father of the first Baron Huntingfield.

† Thomas Walpole, second son of Horatio, first Lord Walpole of Woollerton, younger brother of Sir Robert Walpole; he married, Nov. 1753, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Joshua Vanneck.

1753. opponent, I think it must cost another large heap to wipe off the odium it must naturally cast on the offspring. I dare say Mr. Pelham enjoys this as a masterstroke of his inveteracy against me, to attack me by one of a family to whom I had many obligations in the beginning of life; but I look upon this imp, or rather his father, to be as unlike him for whom I have always expressed a veneration, in every instance, as he himself is in his parts; I only dread his being like him in the length of his administration, which he could have no other chance of being, but by the means the most agreeable to him, of betraying, deceiving, cajoling every man who is honest and open enough to believe he is not putting himself into the hands of a dark, designing hypocrite. I wish he may open this letter, if he is to be taught my opinion of him; or rather I wish, though this very personal attack has not altered the one I had of him a jot, that it may give me spirits to let him hear it. I cannot bear myself for not trying, and cannot help owning, to my shame, that I think I do discredit to the greatest honour of my life, your Grace's countenance of me, in not making the attempt. Promises upon the subject I hint at, your Grace knows the nature of it too well but to think it would be absurd in me to make; nor do you, I am sure, desire to receive them; if pique can get the better of idleness, and resentment make me forego a bottle, I may, I know I ought to, use my best endeavours at least.

You have had so many people from hence lately,

that if there was any news of any kind stirring, they must have told it. I must only add what Mr. Fox told me concerning Sudbury election. The day Robinson was to have entertained the town, a review was appointed for his regiment, which Mr. Pelham's jealousy thought was the effect of Fox's friendship for me; but Mr. Fox told me he had wrote him such a letter upon it, that he believed would make him ashamed of imagining he could be so very weak a politician. I beg a thousand pardons for troubling you with such a long detail about myself, but your repeated goodness to me has made me flatter myself I have some share in your esteem, and I am not willing to part with the thought. I am, &c. 1753.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. RALPH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Chiswick, Nov. 10. 1753.

My Lord,

My health being greatly impaired with repeated attacks of the gout, having reason to apprehend that a prosecution of the heaviest kind was ready to be let loose against me, and seeing no probability of a stand to be made in Parliament, without which no effort of mine would be of any signification to the public, I have returned to Mr. Beckford's agent 150*l.* of the 200*l.* I had received on account, and have laid down the pen.

1753. Persuading myself that neither your Grace nor any other considerate person will find just cause to complain of a measure which the current of the times has rendered unavoidable, I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's &c.

J. RALPH.*

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Leicester fields, Nov. 15. 1753.

My dear Lord,

I am but just come from Lady Betty's, from dinner, with Trentham and Johnny, and therefore must begin with begging your excuse for all the blunders a quantity of claret may occasion in the narrative I meant to send you when I came from the House of Lords, at half an hour after four. One thing, previous to my going there, and of

* It would appear from this letter that the Protester, mentioned, page 129., was not continued. Notwithstanding the unfavourable opinion of Ralph by Pope, Warburton, and H. Walpole, Mr. Fox[a] calls him an historian of considerable reputation. Mr. Hallam[b], "the most diligent historian we possess for the times of Charles II." Dr. Routh[c], "he has obtained a praise of impartiality which he well deserves." While, on the other hand, a writer in the Edinburgh Review[d], says "he is not impartial or always fair; a strong dislike to William III. leavening his second volume."

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[a] Preface to James II. p. 17.

[b] Constitutional History of England, vol. ii. p. 575.

[c] Preface to Burnet's own Time, vol. i. p. 26.

[d] Vol. liii. p. 13.

more consequence than any thing that can ever happen there, I have perfectly in my mind and memory, which is, my finding Lord Tavistock perfectly recovered, except some little soreness about his mouth. I saw Dr. Carlton, and if there wanted more than my own ocular demonstration of his being quite well, I have his decree for it; he walked out into the court yard for a little while, as the sun shone; but the day was too bad for him to continue long abroad. He is not the least pulled with his disorder, and looks remarkably well in the face, except a little swelling left in his glands; in short, if you had seen him as I have, you would be entirely easy about him; and if I had not seen him so, I give you my word, I love him enough not to have been so myself. 1753.

And now, if you please, for a detail of what has been done in both Houses of Parliament, worth your consideration when both your children are in good health, and yourself in spirits. I begin with the lower House, as having to-day the least to do. The youngest Lyttleton * moved the address, and was seconded by *one* Colleton †, who I advise you to ask my Lord Fane about; their speeches were like that from the Throne, and that, as you will see, like all others from thence. Sir James Dashwood ‡, then got up, and moved for a call of

* William Henry Lyttleton; created in 1776 Baron Westcote in Ireland, and in 1794 advanced to the English Peerage as Lord Lyttelton.

† James Edward Colleton of Haines Hill, Berks, M.P. for Lestwithiel.

‡ M.P. for Oxfordshire.

1753. the House for Tuesday fortnight, and intimated something of a repeal of the Jew Bill; Lord Harley * seconded him before he had well sat down, when Lord Parker † said he was rising to do it, and was as desirous of the call, which is appointed accordingly. So much for us, only that I spoke to Tommy Alston ‡, who was in the House, to move for the Writ for Bedfordshire, and to take care to have it sent immediately. I left the House in a hurry, to go to the House of Lords. I hear he did move it, but lest he should have taken no further care, I will enquire myself to-morrow about its being sent, as I hear among friends, he has been in a bad way again lately. Will. Leveson moved for the Lichfield Writ. In your Lordship's upper House, Lord Delawar § moved the address, as you will imagine, in as parliamentary a manner as possible, very short, and a very nothing. Lord Cathcart || seconded, and seemed to have a mind to make a speech, but did make nothing but bows. When this farce was ended, the Duke of Newcastle moved a repeal of the Jew Bill, by having a Bill he brought in his hand prepared for that purpose read the first time. His speech was, if possible, rather

* M. P. for Herefordshire, succeeded his father as Earl of Oxford and Mortimer in 1755.

† Thomas, eldest son of the second Earl of Macclesfield. M. P. for Oxfordshire.

‡ Eldest son of Sir Rowland Alston, Bart. He was M. P. for Bedfordshire. The baronetcy became extinct on the death of the sixth Baronet in 1791.

§ John, first Earl of De la Warr, died 1766.

|| Charles, ninth Lord Cathcart, one of the representative peers for Scotland. He was one of the hostages sent to France on the conclusion of the peace.

worse than usual; his arguments, which, indeed, it is great presumption ever to pretend to understand, seemed all to tend for the bill he meant to repeal; he sputtered out exclamations against evil-minded people that had endeavoured to work upon the weak but well-intentioned poor multitude; but since it had had that effect, and the consequences of the bill were not very great, he thought they ought to be indulged and gratified by the repeal of it. In one thing, indeed, he did greatly better than usual, he was much shorter, and shoved off the religious part of the business to the reverend bench, whom he called upon to clear themselves from the scandalous aspersions and ribaldry the newspapers and other libels had charged them with. The good Bishop of Oxford *, in consequence, seconded his motion with a miserable sermon of three quarters of an hour, which he told us he preached at the request of his brethren upon the same bench; every word of it which did not abuse those that had fomented the cry against the Jews, strongly in support of the bill itself, and ending with his reason for repealing it being in aid of weak and misguided consciences. Lord West- 1753.

* "A great clamour being raised against the bill without doors, it was thought advisable that the Duke of Newcastle should move the repeal of it; and he, desiring to be seconded by a bishop, Dr. Secker was fixed on for that purpose; he accordingly rose up and made a speech which had the good fortune to be remarkably well received."—*Porteus's Life of Archbishop Secker.*

Walpole, in his *Memoirs* says, though the speech in manner was too ironic, his apology and defence of the bench of Bishops was good.

1753. moreland took notice of the contradiction of the Bishop's reasoning, but violent for the repeal. Lord Talbot with a great panegyric upon Halifax's head and heart, observed upon the indecency of bringing in this bill for the repeal in his absence who had been the promoter of the first, to which the Duke of Newcastle, not outdone you will guess in flattery to any body, said the measure was not undertaken without his knowledge and approbation. Then Dupplin's brother *, the bishop of something, made what I find some people call a good speech †, but I own was to me as that of last year, which I never could see the beauties of. The question just putting, up got the Earl Temple, made a speech of a quarter of an hour, and a very good one, declared the regard he had always paid to the voice of the people, but that he never would to the clamours of them; owned his amazement at a motion of this kind in that House, where he expected to have heard notice taken of the licentiousness of the press in daring to attack every part of the legislature in the libellous manner it had done upon this occasion; that, for his own part, he saw no reason to think he had done wrong in giving his assent the last year to the bill, and would not plead guilty to satisfy the lowest of the people, for such only were alarmed at the bill; no thinking man had been so but for private pur-

* Robert Drummond, second son of Thomas, seventh Earl of Kinnoul, then Bishop of St. Asaph; subsequently Archbishop of York.

† Walpole says it was sensible and manly.

poses, which might answer the intent of another House of Parliament, but had had no weight with him when he sat there representing a county, in the case of the repeal of the Septennial Bill, and certainly should not weigh with him in the present instance. That he was against the repeal absolutely, and should vote against it, and had not heard an argument that was not in support of it, even by those desiring the repeal. Intimated other dangers more likely to alarm from abroad, where we seemed to be in danger of an attack from every quarter: was pretty obscure and dark upon that head, indeed; but upon the whole very well and very conclusive I think as to William Pitt's being in a perfect good state of health. He did not indeed honour the House of Commons with his presence, which was but very empty, and the other House very thin, too. The second reading of this bill for the repeal is ordered in that House for Tuesday, and your Lordships are to be summoned. Whether that will bring you up a day sooner or not, I cannot tell, but I imagine Peg's hounds will hunt the same on Monday, let that be as it will. I have endeavoured to persuade him to go down with me, but he affects so much business, so I don't know what to make of him. I will, however, if I can, carry him down on Saturday for one hunt, if not, I believe I shall myself take the liberty of bringing any other intelligence I can pick up between this and then. &c. 1753.

RICHARD RIGBY.

1753.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Leicester fields, Dec. 25. 1753.

My dear Lord,

The enclosed fragment I take the liberty to send to your Grace, to shew the Duchess; Lady Betty's intentions were good, if her mistress had not engrossed her whole time for this evening. She would have related this *melancholy* story from Ireland * much better than me, and would have interspersed with it remarks which I shall leave to your judgment to supply for me. I have seen her but for an instant as I came from dinner from White's here, and have only to tell you from her as domestic occurrences, that the soldier you wrote to Johnny about, will be received without punishment if he returns to his colours immediately, and behaves as he should do. And for Trentham's information that Lord Gower has been ill these two days of a fever, and has now got the gout in his hand; that I suppose will be of advantage to his health as Mr. Pelham's illness, like every other earthly thing, is like to turn out to his. He has had St. Anthony's fire to a violent degree, broke out all over his shoulders and back, and since it has broke out, is mending apace; the day I saw Roberts's † face at the window, they thought him in imminent danger, and so they did on Saturday;

* The disturbances and opposition to government during the Duke of Dorset's lieutenancy.

† Private secretary to Mr. Pelham.

but that is over. His brother's turn is now come, 1753.
for Maxwell, who I saw to-day on the road from Ireland, is gone to Clermount after him, and I imagine it will require all Dr. Shaw's skill to parry the consequences of this fright. You see by the fragment, the money bill, as it is absurdly called, was lost by five, 122 to 117 were the numbers, three of the Castle side deserting during the debate, which lasted till twelve at night. The next question intended after the holydays, for a Christmas box for the Primate, is a motion to the King to remove him from his councils for ever. The Earl, who has always been a great friend of mine, and loves to honour me sometimes with his confidence, I think whispered me a likely conjecture upon Maxwell's coming for leave to prorogue the parliament. You see from Lady Betty's account, and I find from all that Lord Home has reported, they are desirous of making all the world here believe it a national distinction, and that the Irish want to shake off their dependence upon this country; but they must be poor or partial politicians who can't see through such a disguise as that; whenever I see the house of Dorset or of Pelham necessary to the preservation of a third part of the King's dominions, I shall have but a miserable opinion of the whole, but till then shall never believe the most personal opposition that ever was made, is intended for any other purposes, but such as their own honour and ease dictate to them; and in that faith, I heartily wish them all success. The successor,

1753. for one must certainly be soon appointed, is variously talked of. Lord President thought very likely, and then the other may be reinstated, and in some measure save appearances. The Secretary of State *, but this I beg among friends, has talked much of himself, and has been told he has done too much so: he went so far as to ask a guest of your's to be one of his Aides-de-Camp. Lord Chesterfield says he would by no means accept of it, though as George Selwyn was not by, he ventured a joke upon it, and said he was the properest person, for he understood they made a great noise there, and he was too deaf to hear it. There are stories of Lord George's asking Mr. Malone's pardon; of members of parliament fighting every day; of stopping coaches in the street, and making people declare for England or Ireland, and many more that I will bring you a verbal account of, not worth writing down. I will in two or three days bring you what more intelligence I can pick up and some of the best Dantzick brandy Sir Charles Williams has given me for the Duchess in the world.

Gideon is gone to France to avoid being had before Leheup's Committee †; and I have a strange anecdote to tell you about a certain defence of Leheup's in the House of Commons, which too I am very sorry for. I am, &c.

R. Rigby.

* Lord Holdernesse.

† Mr. Leheup was a receiver of contributions to the lottery for the purchase of Sir Hans Sloane's collections. A committee of the House of Commons came to a resolution that he had been guilty of a breach of trust; he was prosecuted by the attorney-general, and fined 1000*l.*

1753.

ALDERMAN BECKFORD TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Soho Square, May 21. 1754.

I hope your Grace will excuse the liberty I take in troubling you with the following relation. As I look on myself tolerably zealous for the liberty of this country, and used my utmost endeavours to get as many friends elected into the new Parliament as I well could, with prudence in respect to my fortune; and I think I have no reason to complain of want of success, having carried three cities and two boroughs. Four seats were originally intended for the four brothers, and the fifth for a good friend and patriot. Here were my original intentions; but I was prevented having my younger brother chosen by an old relation, Mr. Thomas Beckford of Ashted, on whom my brothers have great dependence; as he was unwilling to have my youngest brother, Francis, elected, I gave a promise to Sir John Phillipps that he should be the man to succeed me at Petersfield, and thus matters stood when I received a letter from my brother Richard, member for Bristol, wherein he does most earnestly desire that I will use my utmost endeavours to get all four brothers returned, notwithstanding the opposition of Mr. Thomas Beckford to my original plan. The favour I have to ask of your Grace is that, in case you should have a vacancy in any of your boroughs, to think of this brother of mine, and I will venture

1754. to say there are not four men in the kingdom more zealously attached to the Protestant Succession, and to the liberties of the people; more desirous of joining in every attempt to place the administration of public affairs in abler hands than we are.*

Let the respect and veneration I have for your Grace's character plead an excuse for the liberty taken by

Your most obedient, &c.
WILLIAM BECKFORD.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

Bath, May 22. 1754.

My Lord,

I do myself the honour to enclose to your Lordship four several lists, as marked in the index, which I likewise enclose. Your Lordship will see upon the perusing them, that they relate to the new Commission of the Peace, which I mentioned to your Lordship during the last winter (as necessary for the good government of that large and opulent county †) to pass the great seal, as soon as it should appear to your Lordship the time and circumstances of affairs in that county should be apt for a work of this nature.

As I am certain there is at present a great want

* Three brothers only appear to have been in parliament, viz: William Beckford, London. Richard Beckford, Bristol. Julian Beckford, New Sarum.

† Devonshire.

of acting justices therein, and as the elections are all finished, I flatter myself that your Lordship will expedite this in such a manner, as to have it come out at the next assizes, which will cause great satisfaction to the county in general, and be of public utility. I have taken all the precautions that have been in my power, to prevent the inserting any improper persons in it; but have endeavoured, after having struck out all against whom there is any well-grounded suspicion of disaffection to his Majesty and his Royal Family, to make it as general as possible with regard to all persons of good character and fortune in it, without regard to party denominations. It is very probable I may have erred in some instances, I not being personally so well acquainted with the gentlemen there as I could wish, and have therefore been obliged to take my information from the relation of others, in which I have been as careful as it was possible for me to be. I have nothing further to trouble your Lordship with upon this subject, and shall do myself the honour of waiting on you at Powys House, whenever I shall be able to come to town; in the meantime any commands your Lordship may have for me may be sent to Woburn, where I purpose to be within this fortnight. 1754.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

1754.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Powis House, May 25. 1754.

My Lord,

I received, by yesterday's post, the honour of your Grace's letter, with four several lists enclosed, relating to a new Commission of the Peace proposed to be issued for the County of Devon. Your Grace certainly judged extremely right in postponing this affair till the elections were all over, and I make no doubt but your good affection to his Majesty, and regard for the public utility, in forming the lists to govern yourself by those very proper rules which you are pleased to mention in your letter. I have not yet had time just at the close of the term, to read over the papers, and fear I shall not have a full opportunity of considering them till after the approaching little session of Parliament shall be over; and I apprehend from some expressions in your letter, as well as from what you were pleased to say to me in the winter, that it is your Grace's intention that I should make some inquiry. But, as the next assizes will not be till August, I can entertain very little doubt but the commission may be ready against that time. If I should learn any thing material upon the subject, I will not fail to inform your Grace of it, either by letter or when I have the honour of seeing you in town.

Having called the approaching session a *little*

one, I will take the liberty to add, that as it will begin on Friday next, the day of the return of the writs, I believe it will not last longer than the Thursday following. The only intention of it is to give a perfect consistency to the new parliament, on the foot of the Regency Bill, in case (before the usual time of meeting) a certain fatal event should happen, which I hope in God will not, and I think is not likely. In order to this, a Speaker must be chosen, and a bill pass, because without passing some bill it is not deemed a session. About the *Speaker* *, I think no dispute is intended by any body, and the bill will be only a naturalisation bill, and that *no Jew*. This is the whole, and no point of general business, either foreign or domestic, is intended by the administration to be brought before either House. As to petitions relating to elections and returns, I understand that the leading men in the House of Commons think of postponing them all till the next session in the winter, giving just the same time and opportunity then, as if that was the first session of the Parliament; and I suppose we must do the like in the House of Lords in respect of petitions of appeal. 1754.

I have now told your Grace the whole plan of the session, and have nothing to add but my best wishes that your Grace and my Lady Duchess may find the greatest benefit from the waters

* Mr. Onslow was re-chosen speaker; one bill for naturalisation was passed, and the parliament prorogued on the 5th of June.

1754. where you are, and that I am with the utmost respect,

My Lord, &c.

HARDWICKE.

ALDERMAN BECKFORD TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Soho Square, June 4. 1754.

I hope the respect and regard I have for your Grace's public character will plead my excuse for being further troublesome; but as I do it with a good view, and act in a manner I should desire others to act with me, I hope it will not be taken amiss. As the eyes of most people are looking toward your Grace as the head of an opposition, founded on true patriot principles, it certainly will redound to your Grace's honour, and the reputation of that opposition to endeavour to bring into Parliament men of abilities and integrity. For this reason, I take the liberty just to mention the name of Counsellor Forrester, whose steadiness, honour, and elocution, are not exceeded by many in these kingdoms.

By the desire of a very worthy gentleman, Mr. Henry M'Culloch, I have sent a small treatise to your Grace's house, and will do myself the honour some day or other of paying my respects to you with the said gentleman.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM BECKFORD.

1754.

SIR C. HANBURY WILLIAMS TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Cashiobury, August 2. 1754.

My Lord,

Lord Essex and my daughter have desired me to be their scribe, and to return the Duchess of Bedford and your Grace their most sincere thanks for the honour you have done them in sending your servant over to enquire after their healths and to wish them joy upon their marriage. All I know about them is that I asked Lord Essex, this morning, *s'il était content*, and he answered *très-content.**

Your Grace will have already heard of the Marquis d'Ensenada's disgrace and imprisonment. But as I know the detail of the affair I will send it to you exactly as it passed.

The Duke d'Huescar finding d'Ensenada did not act in concert with him nor upon his plan, resolved to send for Wall from England to assist him in destroying the other, and in a private letter to Wall, before he left London, there were these words: "Come over as soon as you can, and we will either get the better here, or I will return to such an estate (which he named and I have forgot), and will give you one in that neighbourhood for you to live upon." Soon after Wall's arrival at Madrid, there happened an occasion which he seized of doing

* William, fourth Earl of Essex, married August 1. 1754, Charlotte, daughter of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, K.B.

1754. Ensenada's business. Keene had presented a memorial to Wall, about some strong orders which had been sent from Spain to America, and which, if executed, might have produced fatal consequences. Wall had never heard of these orders, and upon inquiry found reason to suspect that they had been issued without the king of Spain's knowledge. Upon which he went to Court, and in a private audience asked the king whether those strong protestations of friendship which he had made by his Catholic Majesty's orders to our king when he left England were not his real sentiments ; to which the king of Spain replied they were, and that he was resolved to live upon the best footing with England. To this Wall answered that it would be impossible to succeed in that design when such orders were issued as he then had in his hands, which he immediately showed to the king of Spain, who upon seeing them, declared that they had been given without his privity or command, and then asked Wall who had issued them. Wall directly named Ensenada, and pushed the affair with such success that Ensenada was arrested the next morning, and conveyed under a strong guard to the castle of Granada. All his papers have been secured, and his first cousin, whose name is Hortenada* (and who they say was a very able person), is sent to the castle of Valladolid.

* Ordenaña is the name given by Coxe. Upon this event Wall wrote a note to Keene, which is a curious specimen of English.—See *Memoirs of Kings of Spain.*

St. Contest is dead, and there are nine or ten successors talked of, but none with any certainty. 1754.

I must divert your Grace with a piece of history that I stumbled upon since I saw you, and which I hope will make the Duchess of Bedford laugh. During the civil wars, your Grace will remember that the two Universities sent their plate to king Charles the First. Cromwell intended to have surprised and seized the Cambridge plate upon the road, but failing in his attempt, he was so exasperated that he seized some of the heads of houses and sent them prisoners to London, and afterwards they were confined on board a ship in the Thames; while they were there, Cromwell threatened to transport them to America, which one Mr. Rigby hearing of, bargained with a merchant to sell them for slaves in the colonies, and actually petitioned the House of Commons for leave to do so. I believe your Grace and I are acquainted with one of that name who would readily deal in such merchandise, and to a good purchaser would readily throw a chancellor of one of the Universities * into the bargain.

I cannot possibly finish this letter without asking a favour of your Grace and my lady Duchess, which is, your countenance and protection for Lady Essex. They are of great benefit to any on whom you are pleased to bestow them, but to one of her age and in her situation, they are invaluable. I will answer

* The Duke of Newcastle.

1754. for her determination to deserve it by every thing in her power, and I know her nature to be such as I could wish it, and she has a grateful heart. I am to your Grace and the Duchess of Bedford with the sincerest attachment and the highest esteem, &c. &c.

C. Hanbury Williams.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO GENERAL WALL.

Woburn Abbey, August 11. 1754.

Give me leave, my dear General, to make one of the many friends you have left in England, who join in congratulations on your advancement in his Catholic Majesty's service, and the high esteem you are so deservedly held in at the Court of Madrid. As I have had the good fortune to have enjoyed a personal correspondence with you, both as a minister and as a friend, I cannot but most sincerely rejoice in every thing that is honourable and agreeable to you, especially as I am convinced your credit in Spain will be conducive to the keeping up that harmony between the two nations which I know you desire, and which is undoubtedly the true interest of them both. In addition to all this, the seeing one whom I have the honour to call my friend, in so honourable an employment, cannot but give me the most sensible pleasure, as I am, with the greatest truth &c.,

Bedford.

1754.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO SIR CHARLES HANBURY WILLIAMS.

London, January 28. 1755.

Dear Sir,

I should before this time have acknowledged the receipt of your letter from Warsaw of the 18th of the last month, had I not been apprehensive of its missing you on the road, the gazette having informed me, which is the only intelligence I have, that you have been detained at Warsaw longer than you intended to stay there, by indisposition. I hope that you are entirely free from it by this time, and that your exit from *Sarmatia* to a hospitable country will entirely re-establish your health. I did fully intend, as I told Lady Essex at Woburn, to have wrote to you soon after Lord Essex and her Ladyship had left us, but an unlucky fall in return from hunting, having very much hurt my right hand, disabled me for some time from writing to you, and likewise from returning their visit, which the Duchess and I had firmly purposed to do before our coming to London for the meeting of the Parliament.

* * * * *

I have no news to send you from hence but what you must be better apprised of than me. We are all alarmed with a French war, but upon what foundation I know not. Twenty men-of-war are ordered to be equipped, press-warrants are sent out, and two regiments of foot are ordered from Ireland.

1755. There are no affairs of moment depending in parliament, nothing but elections in the House of Commons, and a most profound drowsiness in ours. The Colchester petition is now hearing in the Committee, in which our friend Rigby is a principal manager, and will probably initiate in it his colleague Dick Vernon in those various modes of oratory you have mentioned, yawning, huzzaing, &c. The ballad which I believe Mr. Rigby sent you, though wrote with no pretence to wit, yet as a plain narrative will be instructive as to the only event of moment which has happened during this session of parliament, I don't think there will be an opportunity for that author to exercise his pen again soon, as every thing is, I believe, likely to jog on quietly during the remainder of the sessions. As I have nothing interesting or entertaining to send you from hence, I will detain you no longer than to assure you how much I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Eight o'clock, Speaker's Chamber,
March 24.

*We are defeated by the Tories going against us. The numbers were 207 against 183.

* On the contested election for St. Michael's, Cornwall. The contest lay in fact between Fox and Newcastle. Lord Clive was unseated by this decision. Walpole in his *Memoirs* gives a long

After the first division, Sir John Philips, who voted against us, differed with the subsequent motion of the petitioners being duly elected; meaning to make a void election of it, but Wortley, Sir Robert Long, Sir Roger Newdigate, and the whole party deserted him, but about five or six. And upon the second division the numbers were 201 against 178. 1755.

Sir George Lee and his brother that was a colonel voting against us in the second division, though with us in the first: for which, after all was over, Mr. Fox gave him a fair set-down. The debate was not very entertaining, though Mr. Fox spoke very well, and Potter very tolerably.

Sandwich is gone from hence, God knows in what spirits. I hope your Grace, nor none of your friends, will ever have mercy upon these rascally Tories any more.

I am, &c. &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

account of the affair, and in his *Letters* says, "After triumphs repeated in the Committee, Lord Sandwich and Mr. Fox were beaten largely on the report. It was a most extraordinary day; the Tories, who could not trust one another for two hours, had their last consult at the Horn tavern, just before the report, and all but nine or ten voted in a body (with the Duke of Newcastle) against agreeing to it. Then Sir John Philipps, one of them, moved for a void election, but was deserted by most of his clan."—*Letters*, vol. iii. p. 108.

1755.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Porter Club, Saturday Night,
March 29. 1755.

Though here has happened no event worth troubling your Grace within the last four and twenty hours, I can't help thinking that any letter dated from this Society will be acceptable to you. This, indeed, must rely entirely upon that merit. We are all as well as we wish the absent members; and Lady Betty has quite recovered that little disorder that she either shammed, or was troubled with the night before you left London. She has indeed had her remedy constantly with her, for Lady Ossory and she have never been asunder. They did me the honour to dine with me yesterday, and we all dined to-day here: and Sandwich is in as good spirits as if he had any chance for a place, or did not lose his money at quadrille, which he has done these two days.

I have heard a secret in the Irish politics since I saw your Grace, that the last* and present† Lord Lieutenant, have had a dispute about turning out Mr. Clements; the old one insisting violently upon that measure, and having procured his opinion to be backed by a very strong letter from Ireland, signed by the Primate and Lord Besborough‡, as

* The Duke of Dorset.

† The Marquess of Hartington.

‡ The Duke of Dorset was made master of the horse; but his followers in Ireland did not fall without a convulsive pang; the primate and Lord Besborough sent

if it was absolutely necessary for the carrying on of administration there. The Marquis flew out upon it, and his master sides with him, and inveighed against the Primate's ambition, so as to occasion two letters to be sent to Lord Besborough, one by the old Whig, the other by Lord Duncannon, to dissuade his Lordship from so strict a connection with the Churchman. This Clements, I presume your Grace knows, is paymaster of the pensions there, and a certain great Lady having a pretty considerable one upon that country, some part of his so strong support may reasonably be conjectured to come from that quarter. If she ever should run mad and turn patriot, what good might not at last arise to this country from German politics. 1755.

Lord Hartington has made Varey Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod in Ireland, a good 700*l.* a year. A report prevails strongly, that the Tories are to have another election given up to them, and Leicester and Carmarthen are each thought likely to be the sacrifice. Sir William Meredyth, as determined a Jacobite reckoned as any in the House of Commons, has been at Newcastle House since the Mitchell division; and the credit of that whole transaction on the part of the Tories is now given to Sir Walter Bagot*, who came to town on Sunday

a violent letter, to deny the report of their having quarrelled, and to demand some more sacrifices. As Lord Besborough's son, Lord Duncannon, had married the new Lord Lieutenant's sister, the latter resented this symptom of attachment to the disgraced cabal.

* Sir *William* Bagot, sixth Baronet and first Lord Bagot; member for Staffordshire.

1755. night, and supped at the Cocoa Tree: and to confirm that idea a little, and in some measure to account for it, Mr. Legge* is certainly upon much better terms with the head of his board than he has been for some weeks past. I wish I had any thing more better worth troubling your Grace with than saying I am ever your most obliged and devoted

R. R.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Leicester Fields, April 17. 1755.

I would not have your Grace expect a verbatim account of Earl Poulet's Philippic†, or a very exact narrative of all what has passed in the

* Mr. Legge was one of the commissioners of the Treasury; the Duke of Newcastle then First Lord.

† An address from the House of Lords against the King's Hanoverian journey. As the motion would not be merely ridiculous, but offensive too, Mr. Fox dissuaded him from it. He was convinced; and though he had been disgraced as much as he could be, he took a panic, and entreated Mr. Fox and Lady Yarmouth to make apologies for him to the King. Before they were well delivered, he relapsed, and assembled the lords, and then had not resolution enough to utter his motion. This scene was repeated two or three times; at last, on the 24th, he vented his speech, extremely modified, though he had repeated it so often in private companies, that half the House could have told him how short it fell of what he had intended. Lord Chesterfield, not famous heretofore for tenderness to Hanover, nor called on now by any obligations to undertake the office of the ministers, represented the impropriety of the motion, and moved to adjourn. Lord Poulet cried, "My Lords, and what is to become of my motion?" The house burst into a laughter, and adjourned after he had divided singly. — *Walpole's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 383.

House of Lords in your absence, for though I was present there all day yesterday, yet as all that came from the Earl was delivered in many whispers, none of it came to my ears. He was in the House by half an hour past one, and began his first secret with the first man that came in, which was George Haldane, and continued his mystery with at least a dozen of all sorts of parties, till he finished with Mr. Fox. The House had gone through what business they had to do, and my Lord Chancellor waited at least half an hour before his patience was worn out, and he sent the clerk into the next room to the Earl to know if he had any motion to make, or the House would adjourn, which accordingly they did, upon his answer being he had nothing that day to trouble them with: and Mr. Fox told me afterwards, his last resolution was to hold his tongue; I question much whether people in general were not more disappointed than pleased. One, and the greatest of all, will be very glad this motion will not be made. Mr. Reynard told me he was in with him yesterday, and conversing on this motion. Mr. Reynard endeavoured to make light of it, assuring him the Earl was quite single in his opinion, and that nobody would say a word in support of him; upon which he added of himself, and with great warmth, that he was very glad the Duke of Bedford did not approve of it, and that he was sure the Duke of Bedford would be sorry he was gone out of town with a notion it would not be made, since as it was personal to him and concerned 1755.

1755. nobody else, he was persuaded he would have liked to have shown his countenance against it; expressing himself as eagerly as if he could distinguish between their attacks upon his ministry and himself whenever he chooses to do it, and at the same time with the greatest satisfaction that your opinion was on his side. So much for this undetermined irresolute peer, much fitter from this sketch of him as politician, to be the Duke of Newcastle's bosom friend, than this mixture of sweet and bitter opponent: by the way, I heard last night that my friend Rochford had thought it incumbent upon him to answer him, and had got a speech of ridicule ready; which of the Earls a performance of that sort upon such a question would have turned most against, since time will never disclose to us, I intend my Lady shall.

Admiral Boscawen's sailing orders went last night: the original command was seven ships, whether they have added any more, I can't tell.

'Johnny* and the Irish colonels kiss hands to-day, and go to-morrow or next day, and Lord Hartington, I now hear, goes this day se'night. I have nothing else to add, but an assurance how much I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

* The honourable John, afterwards third Earl Waldegrave.

1755.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Leicester Fields, May 24. 1755.

My dear Lord,

The opera being but just now over, at past ten o'clock, the post would not give me time to write you much news, if the town was enough alive to furnish any; but though there are inhabitants to please Vaneschi* to-night, if he is not very unreasonable, they do not furnish conversation worth repeating out of the walls of the Haymarket: and what is worse for me, the Princess has kidnapped Betty, and we have no club, that I am come home to trouble you with these few lines, and don't believe I shall stir out again. She and her mistress come to town to-morrow at eleven o'clock, and return at two to Hampton Court; though so large a party is going to Hitcham, the poor Miller cannot be spared till Monday night, that the party that goes to-morrow to dinner will be at her house almost two days before her.

I have seen Lady Ossory last night and to-day, and I think I can tell your Grace and the Duchess I never saw her look better in my life, and appears to be in very good spirits. I was alone a little while, and inquired about Ireland and Tunbridge, and her last opinion was, that the latter scheme is certainly laid aside, and that he will go without

* One of the directors of the opera.

1755. her to Ireland. The public news from that kingdom is very different, I find, from different quarters. The Lord Lieutenant writes the most sanguine accounts to his Old Whig, but his secretary's private opinion does not quite coincide with it; and the violence and inveteracy of the two parties against each other is undoubtedly as rife as ever: he is set out on a progress through part of the kingdom to visit the troops, barracks, &c. There is not the least tittle of other public news from America, or more important Germany; only, if you will believe it, the French fleet, we are now assured, is very ill manned, and so much inferior in every respect to Boscawen that he may do just what he pleases with them. Bussy, who was here formerly from France, is going to Hanover, and the reason assigned for that is, that Mons. Mirepoix is ill with the ministers there, and holds his employment by Madame Pompadour's interest, who is against the war.

Your Bedfordshire neighbour, Sir Charles Chester*, yesterday, in a high fever, jumped out of a two-pair of stairs' window in Sir Nathaniel Curzon's house, after having stabbed himself four times with a penknife. He broke his thigh by his fall, and what with his bruises and wounds I hear is at the point of death. An old woman, his nurse, was in the room,

* Sir Charles Bagot Chester, Bart. of Chicheley, Bucks. In a fever he threw himself out of a two pair of stairs' window, and broke his hip-bone and thigh: his nurse and servant caught hold, one of them by his heel, the other by his foot, but could not hold him. The delirium went off, but he expired on the 25th of May.

but had not strength to hold him. Lady Gore is recovering very fast, and pretty sure of living. 1755.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Mistley, August 21. 1755.

The night before last Mr. Walpole came down here for a few days, and as he generally has a good deal of political intelligence, I think my sending it can but give you the same trouble as reading a newspaper, and you may put equal confidence in it too, if you please. However, some of it that relates to the transactions in Ireland he has from the best authority, and I dare say you may rely as much upon it, as you will be surprised at the folly of Hartington, who has acted the weakest part in the world since Conway left him, and after he had brought about the very thing he was sent to transact, and which was the thing in the world that would have redounded most to his own honour—I mean the removal of the Primate, which, after a long conversation between Conway, the Chancellor, and Newcastle, the latter had consented to give up; when immediately comes a letter from Hartington to Newcastle himself repenting of the measure of giving him up, and begging that when he shall return home a lieutenant may be appointed

1755. to save the disgrace of leaving him out of the regency. It is imagined he had been worked up to this very weak measure by his relations where he is. And Newcastle has naturally laid hold of this letter as the strongest reason to prove there is no necessity to part with the Primate, and to retract from his agreement. Conway is outrageous at the folly of this, and at his own ill-treatment, and has wrote himself, and has prevailed upon Fox and Devonshire to do the same, in the strongest terms, to Hartington, to insist still upon the first resolution of giving him up: how all this will end God knows, but I never heard so complete a piece of folly, nor so strong an instance of want of judgment. My next piece of news may, perpaps, strike your Grace still with more astonishment: when the Hessian treaty was brought to the Treasury to be signed, Legge * refused to sign it, and being pressed over and over again, still persisted in his patriotism, and absolutely did not. I hope he will carry his resentment to it a little farther, and speak against it in the House of Commons: how very dirty work this must be, when he is afraid of being engaged; or does he find that he is sure of being

* Walpole, then at Mr. Rigby's, writes, "There is a certain Hessian treaty, said to be eighteen years long, which is arrived. At the Treasury, Legge refused peremptorily to sign it. You did not expect patriotism from thence? ..... Legge has been frowned upon by the Duke of Newcastle ever since he was made Chancellor of the Exchequer by him, and would have been turned out long ago if Sir George Lee would have accepted the post." — *Letters*, vol. iii. p. 143.

turned out at all events, and so thinks to secure a little popularity? 1755.

Fox has sent me word to expect such a sessions of Parliament as I have never seen; that there is like to be bustle enough to satisfy even me, but I cannot be so sanguine myself. I have seen so many clouds gathered and blown over, that I despair of a storm: however, I cannot help hoping, I have so much of the *Pall Mall* in me still. I am ever your Grace's, the Duchess of Bedford's, and the whole House of Woburn's

Most faithful &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

LORD GOWER TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Oct. 14. 1755, eleven o'clock.

My dear Lord,

The enclosed letter I have just received from Mr. Fox, and think I cannot possibly give an answer to it without communicating the entire contents to your Grace. I take the reason of this letter being sent to me to be, that if your Grace does not approve of the terms proposed, you may not be put to the disagreeable necessity of giving a refusal or his Majesty of receiving it. I must own that I am glad to find that his Grace of N. seems to be entirely out of the present transactions, and that though his downfall is not immediate, every

1755. political step seems to portend it. I intend setting out for Stratton on Thursday, unless your Grace's determination upon this measure should make my continuance in London necessary.

I am your Grace's most obliged
and obedient servant,
GOWER.

MR. FOX TO LORD GOWER.

October 14. 1755.

My Lord,

H. R. H. the Duke approves, and therefore your Lordship will allow of my taking this liberty. I make it my humble request to your Lordship that if in your opinion it is not improper, you would sound the Duke of Bedford, to know whether, if H. M. should send to ask his Grace's assistance to quell the spirit that is rising against the subsidiary treaties entered into for the defence of H. M.'s electoral dominions, and should express that for this purpose he should think it for his service that his Grace should immediately take the Privy Seal, whether, I say, his Grace would receive the message in such manner as H. M. would wish, and come and take the Seal accordingly. I need not tell your Lordship that I would not propose this without your knowing that such a message might be procured, and it is as little necessary to say to one of your Lordship's rank and understanding, that

no such message *must* be procured till the reception it would meet with is certainly known. 1755.

How much the King, the public, and (which is of little consequence) my future situation is concerned in the event of this matter will no doubt occur to your Lordship, and even the last may, I flatter myself, have some little weight. Should your Lordship's answer be such as I most earnestly wish it may, who would be the proper messenger directly from the King to the Duke of Bedford? I think your Lordship, as it would be doing the Duke of Bedford more honour, and perhaps would please the King better than sending it either by the Duke of Grafton or Lord Waldegrave.*

I am, &c.

H. Fox.

* Mr. Fox's great point was to signalise his preferment by the accession of the Duke of Bedford and his party. The faction were sufficiently eager for such a junction, the Duke himself most averse to it, especially as the very band of concord was to be an approbation of the treaties; the tenor of his opposition had run against such measures; these were certainly not more of English stamp. When the Duchess and his connection could not prevail on him to give up his humour and his honour, to gratify their humour and necessities, Mr. Fox and Lord Sandwich employed Lord Fane[a], whom the Duke of Bedford esteemed as the honestest man in the world, to write him a letter, advising his Grace to vote for the treaties; and they were careful to prevent his conversing with Mr. Pitt, which he wished, or with any other person, who might confirm him in a jealousy of his honour; indeed, he did not want strong sensations of it; they drew tears from him before they could draw compliance. Fox would have engaged him to accept the Privy Seal, which he had prepared the Duke of Marlborough to cede, but the Duke of Bedford had resolution enough to refuse any

[a] Brother-in-law to Lord Sandwich; the letter is in the collection of MSS. at Woburn Abbey.

1755.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD GOWER.

Woburn Abbey, Oct. 15. 1755.

Your servant has this moment brought me your letter, with an account of what you had heard in relation to my coming again into employment: it gives me great concern that I cannot at present be of any utility to his Majesty in this critical situation of affairs, not only as I have ever determined since my resigning the Seals, upon no account to enter into public business whilst the Duke of N. should continue at the head of affairs, but also that the affair of these late subsidiary treaties (of which I know no more than what the Dutch Gazettes inform me) seems to me to be calculated more to bring on a war on the Continent of Europe than for the sole defence of his Majesty's electoral dominions, which doubtless can be in no imminent danger from any aggressor, as being under the protection and part of the Roman empire, besides the necessity this country will be ever under of causing ample satisfaction to be made to his Majesty for any losses he or his German subjects may have sustained *en haine*, for what he may have done as King of Great Britain. I hope you will be now convinced that what I now do does not proceed either from want of duty to his

employment for himself. Acquiescing to the acceptance of his friends, they rushed to court: what terms they obtained, will be seen at the conclusion of the year.— *Walpole's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 404.

Majesty, or from any dislike to any number of people now employed. My duty to the King will carry me as far as my duty to my country will allow me, to the support of his dominions abroad; but what I owe to myself will not permit me again to enter into the King's service whilst the person who has once deceived me is so high, if not at the head of the administration. Let me add one word before I conclude, that no one can have a more dutiful regard than myself for the great person mentioned in the beginning of the account you sent me, nor a greater desire of obeying his commands, as far as I can consistently with my former actions and my present opinion of the state of things; and I must likewise desire the favour of your Lordship to assure the person who wrote to you that no one can wish him better than myself, and that I am heartily sorry it is not in my power to do what I perceive would be agreeable to him. 1755.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Arlington Street, Nov. 26. 1755.

My dear Lord Duke,

Had we not to-day voted away some hundred pounds of your Grace's money, by granting four shillings in the pound land tax, there would not have happened an occurrence for me to have

1755. sent you an account of. Monday and Tuesday have passed as unattended in both Houses of Parliament as if they had all been members of the Dunstable hunt, and to-day that great sum was levied upon the people of England without a single objection. Mr. Secretary Fox then produced the Treaties, and intimated this day fortnight as a reasonable time for taking them into consideration. Mr. Pitt approved of the day, and it is understood by the House to be so fixed. But Mr. Pitt gave out that if they should move for papers or other lights on that day, that might create difference of opinion, then they must adjourn the consideration of the treaties to some other. By which (but this is my own private conjecture, not having spoke to a single person on the subject,) I conclude they mean to move for the letters that passed between the regency and Holdernesse, which of course will be refused them, and your Grace, who has been Secretary of State, will know better than me, how improper it would be not to refuse them; but this, as I said before, is merely my own speculation. When I have informed your Grace after this, that the army is fixed for this day se'night in the House of Commons, I think I have told you all that I have been able to pick up from a supper last night at Mr. Fox's, as well as what I could hear to-day of our business. I went to the House of Lords, and from the oracle of it, my friend Joe Wight, after the house was up, I learnt that Holdernesse had there produced the treaties, and by a blunder,

moved taking them into consideration on Wednesday fortnight, meaning this day fortnight. Lord Temple availed himself of the mistake; was pathetic upon it; said as they had been entered into without the advice of parliament, it was necessary parliament should have much time to deliberate upon them, as they appeared unconstitutional, derogatory from the honour of the country, &c. &c. Lord President desired him to postpone his abuse of them till he had read them, which as they were now upon the table, he might have a speedy opportunity of doing, and abusing them after he knew what they were, would be full as well as before. In short, they are fixed in the House of Lords also for this day fortnight. I forgot to tell your Grace, by way of House of Commons' concerns, that we were informed by authority that the Bank advances two millions seven hundred thousand pounds upon your land and malt, at three per cent. only. 1755.

Johnny may stay very securely with you at Woburn, for we shall certainly have no business before the army this day se'night. The Princess of Wales's birth-day is not to be kept till Tuesday, because the Queen died upon the next Monday come thousand years. Mr. Pitt has accepted Lord Temple's thousand a year, and they make no scruple of owning it. Nor indeed do I see any reason to be ashamed of it; they talk of George Haldane *

* Colonel of the Foot Guards; M. P. for Inverkeithing, &c.; appointed Governor of Jamaica.

1755. for Governor of Barbadoes or Carolina, but I don't know if there is any truth in it.

The terrible report from Lisbon is not believed in the extent it is talked of, but feared much danger is done. I write this at past eight from Lord Gower's, and therefore beg your forgiveness of all inaccuracies and what is not intelligible.

&c. &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

December 3. 1755.

I never lamented the original constitutional defence of this country so much in my life as I do this day. If our militia had continued to be our support, I might have staid two days longer at Woburn, for the army is put off till Friday, the House having sat till they were tired, last night, at past nine o'clock upon Lord Pulteney's motion. Lady Betty tells me she sent the numbers upon the division, but she did not then know that in the course of the debate Beckford attacked some former Board of Admiralty, that the House understood to mean the Duke of Bedford's; and Mr. Fox took it up so warmly, that Beckford, who was of the majority side, did not stay to vote; it is not understood, however, to have amounted to any thing like a quarrel. There are accounts of Castres and Hay

from Lisbon being safe, and Kepple does not go at last. 1755.

I enclose you Peg's nonsense, because I said I would.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

December 4. 1755.

Last night when I sent your Grace an account of somewhat that had passed the day before in the House of Commons, I did not know that there had also been some altercation in the other House. But this morning, my friend Joe Wight breakfasted with me, and informed me that Ravensworth has summoned the House for to-morrow. He got up in the most violent agitation of spirits and, with great warmth of action, said he was as much for the subsidiary treaties even as the man that made them, but that he wanted more light: there were Lords in the House who could inform him of what he wanted to know, which was, what terms of accommodation were offered, if any were on either part between France and us, at the time Boscawen was sent to America, that he might be able to do what he so much wished, — find himself able to vote for the treaties. The Duke of Newcastle answered him, and told him if he would say what papers he meant, if they were proper to be brought to parliament, he would second him, but that as the treaties were made long since, their being justifiable or not

1755. would depend upon the notoriety of the state of affairs at the time they were made; that after Monsieur Mirepoix was recalled, there were no thoughts of accommodation; and therefore begged he would further explain his meaning what he would have produced. He remained still violent, said he found he was not to have an answer, and therefore should have a motion to make to-morrow, and has summoned the House accordingly. Lord Temple moved yesterday that those Hessian treaties of the years 1702, 1740, 1745, and one Russian treaty of 1747, might be laid before the House, and an address went for that purpose. His Lordship likewise was violent upon the present treaties, and fell upon the Chancellor, who, he said, had hurried on the taking them into consideration, and by his own authority converted three weeks into a fortnight alluding to Holdernesse's blunder, who got up and justified himself very glibly. And then the Chancellor laid Temple on very handsomely, said he did not expect, nor had ever heard, so unfair an allegation in that House of Parliament, appealed for his candour in wording the motion for taking the treaties into consideration of the whole House, and observed much, and very well and with a great deal of spirit, as my friend Joe tells me, upon the particular spleen and temper that Temple seemed to show upon the present occasion. By the way, Temple and Mr. Pitt live in the Parliament office, and Joe Wight tells me he had to light a fire for them, and shut them up for three or four hours

together among all the treaties of the world. And Lord Temple has been at him with respect to the form and orders of the House, to know how he can have another day's fight at them, after Wednesday is over. The only way he can, is by opposing the appropriating clause of the money bill, when it comes up to the House of Lords, but that his Lordship did not seem to know, nor was it Joe's business to tell him. 1755.

The Duke of Devonshire, it is thought, most likely will not be alive this day se'ennight, his senses are impaired, and he is in the utmost danger.

Bullock * was with me this morning, and very desirous to know your Grace's opinion of the treaties. I explained as well as I could to a very good-natured fox-hunting boy, your sentiments upon them, and the reasons that induced you; he seems as if he would be very well satisfied with your opinion only, and be glad to be of the same.

Though it is eleven o'clock, I must tell you of the most curious of all robberies that was committed last night. A Mrs. Hodges of Hanover Square got into her coach at the playhouse, and from under the seat of the coach, as it was going along, up jumps a thief, and with a pistol in his hand demands her money and jewels, and orders her, upon pain of instant death, to stop her coach at a certain place and let him out and wish him good night, all which

* Most probably John Bullock, Esq., Member of Parliament for Malden.

1755. she complied with, and he carried off a thousand pounds' worth of her jewels.

The Toulon fleet, they say, has sailed and gone to Brest.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

December 6. 1755.

My dear Lord Duke,

I should have sent your Grace an account of the consequence of Lord Ravensworth's summons for yesterday in the House of Lords by last night's post, if any thing had passed there worth relating to you. His Lordship moved for all letters, memorials, representations, &c. that have been sent to France by the Secretaries of State and Board of Trade, from the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to the commencement of the present hostilities, and an address went accordingly. He founded his reasons for his request upon the want of *lights*, as he calls them, to frame a judgment of the two treaties, and then most ingenuously assented to, or, if I don't mistake, mentioned himself that their being laid upon the table some time hence would satisfy him; so that he is to give his opinion first, and then, by his *lights*, is to find whether he was in the right or the wrong. Most, indeed, of the papers he asked for are in print, either by the French or us. After I had heard his motion, I went to the House of Commons, but was told nothing passed in the House of Lords to regret the

loss of. We had a very fine debate upon the army, 1755.
though no difference of opinion with respect to the estimate of 34,000 men. A most violent, abusive, but very fine, declamation from Mr. Pitt, who would have moved for a larger number, but that Barrington, in his opinion, had told the House he had a bill to bring in for the better recruiting the army, and, when he brought that in, should move for more men, which seems to be the disposition of the whole House, except Sir John Philips. Pitt artfully mentioned the noblemen's regiments, talked much of the utility they had of been to this country, and of the obloquy he had heard them treated with for hours together in that House.* Fox justified himself with a vast deal of spirit; said whenever any of his former conduct was alluded to, he

* "Another topic of debate calls for a few words. In the time of the rebellion, thirteen lords had offered to raise regiments of their own dependents, and were allowed. Had they paid them too, the service had been noble. Being paid by the government, obscured a little of the merit; being paid without raising them, would deserve too coarse a term. It is certain that not six of the thirteen regiments ever were raised; not four were employed. If, then, they saved this country, as Mr. Pitt asserted, it was by preventing risings in the counties where they were stationed. Did those that were not raised prevent insurrections? or did those that were raised, and were led out of the counties, prevent them? The chief persons at the head of this scheme were the Dukes of Bedford and Montagu. The former raised and served with his regiment. The Duke of Montagu, who thought he could never get too much from the government, or give away enough to the poor, had the profit of two regiments. Mr. Fox had warmly attacked this plan, especially on the design of giving rank to the officers, and had made a great breach amongst the ministerial people, yet it was carried. Pitt, at that period connected with the Duke of Bedford, had supported this scheme; it was artful in him now to revive the remembrance of it, when Fox was possessed of the Duke of Bedford." — *Walpole's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 446.

1755. should always take notice of it; if he saw reason to repent of it, he should not be ashamed to own it; if not, he would always justify it: that for his conduct in that measure, obloquy was a hard expression at this distance of time; but nevertheless, since called upon, he would again speak his opinion upon them; and in doing that he should make great distinction among the noble persons; that there was then, and he thanked God there was still, one noble Duke able and willing to serve his country, who went to the King and offered him his service, to go at the head of his regiment, and try if with his lowlanders he was not a match for any highlanders, whose regiment was as good and as complete as any regiment in the service, and many others almost as respectable: but to prove they were not all so, he told a matter-of-fact of the two regiments of horse being raised at the great expense they were, instead of two light and cheap regiments of dragoons, as they were at first intended, merely because the Duke of Montague insisted upon it. He told me afterwards he had a great mind to have said, though his prudence got the better of him, that surely he was right in his distinction of the noble Colonels; for though some deserved every thing of their country for the part they took, yet he should not be for trusting others to raise a regiment who could not raise half a crown.

Lord George Sackville made an excellent speech, and very unlike any body's else, for it was quite to

the question; disapproved of Mr. Pitt's present style of debating, that if our country is in such a deplorable condition, we ought to be considering how to remedy it. If he has accusations against any minister he ought to appoint a day for the purpose of hearing them; but all ministers are unworthy our consideration in comparison of relieving the public, which seemed to be forgot, and abuse or defence of our ministers to engross our whole thoughts. 1755.

Nugent made a most impudent and fulsome panegyrick upon the Duke of Newcastle, and Charles Townshend as abusive an harangue. Poor Dick Lyttleton the House can no longer be brought to hear a word from, and he sat down in the midst of the greatest buz through mere vexation. After all this, we adjourned at 7 o'clock, *nemine contradicente* to the question upon the paper, and the call of the House put off for a week.

The Duke of Devonshire died yesterday morning about five o'clock, and Charles Townshend told me just now his father was following him. So far I write at home, but shall carry my letter to Lady Betty's, and if I hear any thing to insert, shall give you the trouble of reading it. Only one word more, I send you a new paper, called the Opposition *, which is to come out occasionally; I don't think Tom Hervey † unlike to be the author, though

* A pamphlet was published at this time entitled the "Opposition." (6*d*. Cooper.)

† The Honourable Thomas Hervey, brother of John Lord Hervey, equerry to Queen Caroline.

1755. that is only my own guess. I have since been at an assembly at Lady Caroline Fox's, and am just come to the Porter Club: at the first place I heard nothing; and only at this, that the Opera was very full.

Lord Tavistock dined *tête-à-tête* with me, and would have wrote to-night, but that I showed him my letter, which he said he thought was a full surfeit by one post. I beg to trouble your Grace with my best compliments to the Duchess and Lady Caroline, and to add that

I am, &c.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

December 16. 1755.

My Lord Duke,

I called upon your Grace this evening, and will be at Bedford House to-morrow morning before eleven, if I do not hear from your Grace that it will be inconvenient. H. M. has gone to the utmost of your Grace's and Lord Gower's expectation, and I hope your Grace will be at liberty to make Lord Chancellor a visit to-morrow night, and to see H. M. on Thursday morning. I must refer your Grace for particulars till to-morrow morning, as I write this both in haste and in company.

I am, &c.

H. Fox.

1755.

On the 6th of March 1754 died, after an illness which was not known to be dangerous, Henry Pelham, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Together with these offices, he led the ministerial party in the House of Commons, and had thus occupied, if he did not fill, the station, held before his time by Walpole, and since by Lord North and Mr. Pitt.

The chief defect of Pelham was his timidity. Superior to his brother Newcastle, in sense, prudence, and honesty, he was his inferior in boldness. Hence his authority was never paramount in the Cabinet, and when he succeeded in promoting a great measure, such as the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, it was rather by the assistance of some of his colleagues, who took the same view with himself, than by his own weight in the ministry. Still it must be remembered that Pelham was the politician most favoured by Sir Robert Walpole after his own retirement, and the bitter invectives of Lord Orford cannot be put in comparison with the solid testimony of his wiser father. Pelham, like Walpole, made peace and the public credit his chief objects, and his efforts were so far successful that his remonstrances shortened the war, and his knowledge of finance enabled him to reduce the interest of the national debt. In one respect he excelled Walpole; he kept back his rivals without driving them into opposition. His management of the House of

1755. Commons was more stained with corruption than that of his master; but he threw a cloak of decorum over vices which Walpole took no pains to dissemble.

The succession immediately occupied the thoughts of busy and ambitious men. Pelham died at six in the morning, and between seven and eight Fox called on Lord Hartington to put in for the great prize.*

The struggle of more than three years which ensued has been related at length by Horace Walpole, and its leading events described by later writers.† A very short summary will serve to explain the correspondence in this volume which refers to these events.

At the time of Mr. Pelham's death, Mr. Fox was Secretary at War, Mr. Pitt, Paymaster of the Forces, Mr. Murray, Attorney-general. The three most distinguished men in the House of Commons, therefore, being all in office, it seemed impossible to avoid giving the first place in that House and the complete confidence of the Crown to one of these distinguished men. Yet the envy and cunning of Newcastle enabled him for a time to baffle all three.

The first sent for was Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox well knew his own power as the first debater in the House of Commons, weighty and logical in argument, keen and sarcastic in reply, equal by his capacity to great affairs, and acquainted with the byeways as well as the highways of politics. The

* Lord Melcombe's Diary.

† See especially the Review of Thackeray's Life of Lord Chatham, by Mr. Macaulay.

Duke of Newcastle offered him the post of Secretary of State, the lead of the House of Commons, and a seat in the Cabinet. So far all was fair; but a further question remained behind. According to the abominable system of those days, the secret-service money was employed in buying members of parliament. As a part of the same system, the treasury boroughs were filled by the nomination of the friends of the minister. It was naturally expected by Mr. Fox that he should share in the confidence of the Prime Minister respecting these secret means of government, as well as in the preparation and defence of public measures. But the power of Newcastle was founded on the purchase of boroughs and members of parliament. Others could write as good despatches; others could make more eloquent speeches: it was in jobbing and bargaining that he stood unrivalled. Perhaps he struggled with himself to permit a share of this foul influence to Mr. Fox, but however that may be, after promising one day to communicate every thing, he positively declared the next day that he would keep bribes and boroughs entirely in his own hand, and that Mr. Fox need give himself no concern in the matter. 1755.

Fox now held himself insulted, and, much to the displeasure of the King, declined the seals. Pitt was in bad health, and was obnoxious; Murray looked to the security of the Bench, and had no wish to encounter Fox and Pitt as the deputy of Newcastle.

Was the boasted constitution of England, how-

1755. ever, so speedily corrupted to rottenness that all the ablest men in the House of Commons could be set aside by a trafficker in venal votes? The progress of events furnishes a solution to this question.

For a time all was apparently easy. Sir Thomas Robinson, who knew the routine of foreign affairs, was made Secretary of State, and with Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was appointed to lead the House of Commons. Pitt felt the affront, and said openly that Mr. Fox should have been made leader. Neither he nor Fox resigned their offices, but both thought themselves at liberty to treat with contempt, and expose to laughter, the Secretary of State. On the occasion of an election petition, Sir Thomas Robinson happened to say that the next would be a short case, for it presented no difficulty. Pitt fiercely blamed this light and ignorant way of speaking, and Fox, ironically excusing Robinson on the ground of his inexperience, said he hoped he would be the last great man, as he had been the first to use the influence of his high station to prejudge a case that was unheard. Pitt had said in private, "he lead us! the Duke might as well send his jack-boot to lead us!" And so indeed it appeared. Another scene which occurred on a previous day during this interregnum is so well described by Walpole, that I cannot do better than copy his account.

"Another petition being in agitation, the House, thin and idle, a younger Delaval had spoken pom-

pously and abusively against the petitioner, and had thrown the House into a laughter on the topics of bribery and corruption. Pitt, who was in the gallery, started and came down with impetuosity, and with all his former fire, said, 'He had asked what occasioned such an uproar; lamented to hear a laugh on such a subject as bribery! Did we try *within* the House to diminish our own dignity, when such attacks were made upon it from without? that it was almost lost! that it wanted support! that it had long been vanishing! scarce possible to recover it! that he hoped the Speaker would extend a saving hand to raise it, he only could restore it, yet scarce he! He called on all to assist, or else *we should only sit to register the arbitrary edicts of one too powerful a subject!*' This thunderbolt thrown in a sky so long serene, confounded the audience. Murray crouched silent and terrified. Legge scarce rose to say with great humility, 'that he had been raised solely by the Whigs, and if he fell sooner or later, he should pride himself in nothing but in being a Whig.'" * 1755.

It was impossible that this could go on. The Duke of Newcastle felt it to be so; after an interval he again applied to Fox, obtained his active support, and then, as a reward, offered the seals, without humiliating conditions. Such was the homage paid to the constitution. George the Second often said

* Mem. by Lord Orford.

1756. that as a German prince he would not have made Newcastle even his Chamberlain. But if as a German prince he had made Newcastle not only Chamberlain but Prime Minister, no House of Commons would have obliged him to seek for great abilities in his Secretary of State.

Fox ought in prudence, even if not tied by any positive engagement, to have required the admission of Pitt into the Cabinet at the same time with himself. Instead of doing this, he offered the privy seal to the Duke of Bedford. We have seen that the Duke of Bedford declined place for himself, but accepted it for his friends. Sandwich and Rigby obtained offices lucrative rather than honourable. Lord Gower, lately Lord Trentham, was made Privy Seal. The Duke of Newcastle, to provide for Sir Thomas Robinson, and others of his friends who retired, burthened the country to the extent of nine thousand pounds a year.*

But stormy times were approaching, and arrangements which excluded Pitt from an office of power, were ill suited to the wants of a country which was about to meet France and Austria combined in a war of prodigious exertion.

In October 1756, Fox, disgusted by the treatment he received from the Duke of Newcastle, tendered his resignation to the King. The King was angry, but sought in vain for help. The office of Chief Justice was vacant, and Murray declared that he would accept no other. Pitt alone could supply the

* Lord Orford.

vacancy made by the resignation of Fox. But he refused to serve either with Newcastle or with Fox. Even in this he was indulged, and, in order to gratify him, the Duke of Devonshire accepted the post of First Lord of the Treasury. To make matters easy, Fox offered to take the office of Paymaster, without a seat in the Cabinet. Even this was denied. 1756.

It was at this time that the Duke of Bedford accepted the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which the Duke of Devonshire quitted for the Treasury.

This combination was not made to be lasting. Mr. Pitt, with all his great qualities, was ill fitted to influence the votes of the House of Commons. It was not only that he could not stoop to dishonest arts; he did not possess, or would not exert, the honest qualities of conciliation and forbearance. Hence in the course of his long life, though he often captivated the nation, he never led a political party, nor was he ever the efficient head of a ministry. His only connections were with a part of his own family; for even the "cousins" did not permanently act with him: at one time he was opposed to Lyttleton, at another to George Grenville, and for a considerable period a breach with Lord Temple broke off another intimate connexion. When he came to form a ministry himself, he produced that curious mixture of which Mr. Burke says, "He made an administration so chequered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a

1756. cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tesselated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; King's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on." *

This strange jumble of parties was no accident, but was the natural result of his character. He had no party attachments, and no fixed principles. He cared as little for the employment of Hanover troops, and the engagements of subsidiary treaties, as he cared for the Walpole connection, or the so-styled patriots: he was ready to be for or against any measure, or any man, as his temper and judgement inclined him at the moment. What he really possessed, and what others wanted, was a high sense of personal honour and national independence—a resolute heart in council, and a powerful understanding for great emergencies.

These qualities fitted him exactly for a colleague of Newcastle, who had the qualities which Pitt wanted—a knowledge of the characters of public men, and a sense of the necessity of a party standard to which they could rally. After a long interval of suspense, the interests of the nation prevailed; the Duke of Newcastle became First Lord of the Treasury, and Mr. Pitt Secretary of State, and, according to the phrase of Horace Walpole, all

* Burke's Speech on American Taxation.

the men who had been declaring for months that they never would join united in forming an administration. "The Duke of Newcastle lent me his majority to carry on the Government," said Mr. Pitt some years afterwards. Mr. Pitt made war, Mr. Pitt subsidized Prussia, Mr. Pitt sent forth glorious expeditions, Mr. Pitt conquered Canada: the Duke of Newcastle gave away places, and filled the Whig boroughs with sure dependents. 1756.

In this administration Mr. Fox consented to act as Paymaster of the Forces, out of the Cabinet. The world has imputed this submission to a love of place for the sake of emolument. The best defence to be made for him is contained in his own letters in this collection; and had not the office of Paymaster been so exceedingly lucrative, we might believe that he was content to forego his projects of ambition solely to obtain quiet at home, and oppose to our foreign enemies an united government. Be this as it may, the coalition of parties in June, 1757, was most fortunate for this country.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

An express arrived yesterday from Gibraltar, a Captain O'Hara, one of Lord Tyrawley's sons; and the intelligence he has brought has occasioned the sitting at this instant of perhaps one of the wisest councils in the world; he has indeed intimi-

1756. dated them, and of that there was no need. He has brought the opinion of a council of war held at Gibraltar, and the result of that opinion is generally thought, and I believe you will think, very extraordinary. But to begin a kind of narrative, if you have patience to read it, of our marine transactions since Mons. Richelieu landed at Ciudadela. The next morning Edgecombe called a council of war, and it was determined to sail with his squadron from Mahon to Gibraltar, in hopes to meet with a squadron from hence; to reinforce the garrison with what men he could spare, and was therefore obliged to leave the Dolphin and another ship behind him for want of sufficient hands. He accordingly took his leave of Mr. Blakeney* and his garrison, in high health and spirits, two days after the French landed. This Mr. O'Hara was a sea officer left with Blakeney; but, uneasy at the thoughts of the Dolphin falling into the hands of the enemy, three days after Edgecombe sailed, prevailed upon Blakeney to let him have only twenty men, and try to run away to Gibraltar and prevent the French getting her, which piece of good luck he succeeded in, and was for that reason pitched upon as the messenger here to bring the resolutions of

* "A rough veteran: he had passed through all the steps of his profession, and had only attained the sweets of it by living to be past the enjoyment of them. As every day brought out the weakness of the garrison of Mahon, all hope was contracted to the person of Blakeney: yet in no neglect were the ministry more culpable, for he proved to be superannuated." — *Walpole Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 53.

the council of war held at Gibraltar. They are, 1756.
not to take a battalion, as they are empowered by their instructions to do, from the garrison at Gibraltar, to reinforce Fort Philip as well as to throw Lord Robert Bertie's regiment into the fort, but in every shape despairing of the relief of the island of Minorca. The officers of the regiments there are sailed with Mr. Byng without the reinforcement they were empowered to take; Mr. Byng loitering six days at Gibraltar, where they said he need have staid but 24 hours; in their resolutions declaring the relief of the place almost impracticable, and, in fine, Mr. Byng writing that he is going to look after the French fleet, who he hopes to be able to make some stand against. Their determinations are desponding to the last degree; and at this council of war were present, the Admirals, Governor Forbes, Lord Effingham, Cornwallis, Lord Robert Bertie, and all the Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels at Gibraltar; so that from the whole drift of these letters there appears a dread even of Gibraltar, and an idea, if that is preserved, we shall have reason to think ourselves well off. This Mr. O'Hara in his account of the possibility of succouring Mr. Blakeney differs much from this council of war; says the force of the French fleet is not above nine ships of the line, but allows their army ashore in the island to be fifteen thousand men; and in general it is believed their fleet is gone back to Toulon. The French have eight hundred head of cattle with them, besides their salt provisions; and

1756. the people of the island show their zeal so strongly for them, as to harass extremely in their march to get into Fort Philip the last reconnoitring detachment. So much for Mediterannean intelligence, and I only have wrote it so as to be intelligible to your Grace.

There are great reports of the Prince of Wales's establishment being to be settled immediately; that he is to have forty thousand pounds a year, and numbers of lords and grooms are talked of. Lord Rockingham his master of the horse, Lord Waldegrave groom of the stole, Lord March, Lord Digby, and Lord Bolingbroke are talked of for his Lords, and Morison, Ingram, and young Nugent, for his grooms, but I only write you all they say. The blue ribands, too, are going to the Duke of Devonshire and the Earls of Carlisle, Holdernesse, and Northumberland. In short, these rascally French use the poor Duke of Newcastle so ill in every other part of the world, that he must make as many friends as he can at home.

I rode for an hour yesterday with Charles Townshend, and had some very serious discourse, which I shall keep till I have the pleasure of seeing you; as well as a great deal with another person, who I own I love, and for whom I have the great pleasure to see your Grace show some partiality.

You must be Fox's support, who are incapable of deceiving; for though I speak it as a fact, I don't think it a discredit, he is capable of being deceived.

Leicester Fields, Thursday evening,
June 1. 1756.

1756.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

June 4. 1756.

I have not been in haste to send you the bad news, but send it your Grace *now*, that you may know every particular, and when I can acquaint your Grace that in consequence of it Lord Tyrawley and Lord Panmure are ordered to supersede Foukes and Stuart, and Sir Edward Hawke, and Saunders (made a Rear Admiral) to succeed Byng and West, and that they all go together in the first ship that can be made to sail.

I had wrote thus far of this letter, intending to send it by a messenger, when Mr. Rigby came in, who is going to Woburn and will have the honour to deliver this to your Grace, and acquaint you with the reasonings of people here upon it, with some of which I might otherwise have troubled your Grace.

It is by no means clear whether or to what degree Byng* or West are blamable, but I hope your Grace will think (as I confess I do) that there was

* "Though in the venality of this hour, it may be deemed sufficient to throw the whole blame upon Byng, yet I will venture to say, the other (sending an insufficient force) is a question that, in the judgment of every impartial man now and hereafter, will require a better answer than, I am afraid, can be given to it. Whatever faults Byng may have, I believe he was not reckoned backward in point of personal courage; which makes this affair the more extraordinary, and induces me to wait for his own account of it, before I form an opinion of it." *Right Hon. George Grenville to Mr. Pitt, June* 7. 1756. *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 164.— Admiral Byng was a brave officer, whose life was sacrificed to royal severity, ministerial convenience, and popular clamour.

1756. no staying for inquiries. And that nothing but an immediate change of the command could restore spirit to the fleet, which must be sufficiently dispirited, if they have any sense of honour left. The consternation, shame, and anger of every body here on receiving these accounts have been extreme. His Majesty and the Duke are struck to the greatest degree. But H. R. Highness still thinks we may save Minorca, and Lord Tyrawley (who at a minute's warning was ready to set out with great and commendable spirit) thinks so too. I heartily wish I did.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

The extraordinary but not unexpected news is arrived, that the King of Prussia, having received an unsatisfactory and haughty answer from the Empress Queen, is actually marching with 100,000 men through Saxony into Bohemia. He has sent a third message to say that an explicit declaration that she will not attack him either this year or next shall stop him short.

She is too proud to answer as she is bid, and in the mean time he marches, so that your Grace may conclude him in Bohemia before your Grace receives this letter.

His device is *Prævenire quam præveniri.* If the Dutch letters to-day say true, he has taken Leipsic, and two other towns, and keeps them as a security

for the King of Poland's neutrality, which he thought a better way than asking leave to pass, a ceremony which he omitted. But I see he has ordered the General that will march within two leagues of Dresden to send a most polite message in his name to the king and all the royal family. I do not guess what will be the consequence; but I thought it so extraordinary an event, that your Grace should have as early an account of it as I could with any certainty give you. If the Duke of Marlborough is with your Grace, may I beg my best respects to him. I have called this an extraordinary event, and it is plainly to be seen in the faces of all the foreign ministers that it is so, but not one of them will hazard a conjecture of what it will produce at last. 1756.

Colonel Jeffreys is come from Minorca: no men ever behaved better than the garrison of Fort St. Philip's. There would not have been the least difficulty in landing succours, had we but tried.

I beg, my Lord Duke, my best compliments to the Duchess, and that you would believe me,

With the greatest gratitude, &c.

September 7. 1756.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, September 25. 1756.

Here is not the least tittle of news stirring worth sending your Grace, but the King of Prussia's

1756. proceedings, which are extremely rapid and violent. He has possessed himself of the electorate of Saxony entirely, has seized the revenues, suspended the civil government, and sent to Berlin for a governor, to whom he has ordered all obedience to be paid; in short, he is himself as much elector of Saxony as of Brandenburgh. When he entered Dresden, he found the Queen of Poland in the palace: he sent her, as he has wrote to her husband, the civilest assurances of his friendship, but necessity and his own safety demanded his present conduct, and made him also demand the key of a certain closet in the palace. Her Majesty placed her back against the door of it, and told the officer it should be by depriving her of her life that he entered there, but her spirit availed her little, and she was forced to submit in the end. The King of Prussia is said to have kept this expedition so secret, that when the garrison marched out of Berlin, there was not a general officer knew whither they were going, and not even Podewits had been trusted. His Majesty will most likely grow angry at being delayed by his brother of Poland in his camp at Pirna, which it seems is very strong, and the poor devils of inhabitants may suffer grievously. It is certain he thought the other would run away into Poland; and has liberally sent him word, if he will go there, he shall find post-horses and all conveniences ready to convey him.

I rode out all this morning with Mr. Fox and Lady Hilsborough, and dined since at Holland House

with the Duke of Richmond, but have been able to pick up no opera news for the Duchess or political for yourself. Mr. Fox knows nothing of the time the camps are likely to break up, and still less of any treaty with the people Lady Betty hinted at. The one at Leicester House is certainly concluded entirely to H. R. Highness's satisfaction, old Wall to have nothing to do with them; and I rather think, from putting all circumstances together, Pitt left in the lurch, and Legge if he dares; Lord Bute contra Pitt; but all the history I have of this it is impossible to convey in a letter. 1756.

I am to dine to-morrow at Gashry's with Admiral Knowles, who is to furnish me with materials for his justification.

The Duke of Marlborough is to be at your camp on Thursday or Friday next, and the Duke of Cumberland is quite recovered from his gout. Johnny and Betty I called upon, but they do not come to town till Monday.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

I am summoned to town from my visit to Houghton, some days sooner than I intended, by an express from Mr. Fox. He has communicated a letter to me which my Lord Granville is to carry to the King to-morrow. It contains an humble and most dutiful offer of quitting his service in his

1756. present employment; and when he comes to be further questioned, if ever he should be, into his reasons for this step, his treatment from the Duke of Newcastle must and will be his full justification. As this transaction has gone no further in its progress, I must refer you to to-morrow night's post for more information from me; but I thought it my duty to make your Grace acquainted, as soon as I knew myself, the minutest circumstance of a matter of this consequence. I shall leave all reflection till I am further informed; but cannot help fearing for my friend, that mankind will attribute to his ambition what really proceeds from ill-usage, and falsely lay to his charge any consequences that may happen to the King's affairs or the public. Lord Gower, who dined with me, with Lady Betty and Lord Tavistock, is just set out for Trentham, and Lady Betty bids me say she will write to the Duchess on Saturday.

Leicester Fields, Thursday evening,
October 14. 1756.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Holland House, Oct. 15. 1756.

Lord Granville was with the King this morning with Mr. Fox's letter. His Majesty is wondrous angry, talked of his insatiable ambition, and the many favours he had granted him, and the

much greater degree of power than ever he meant to have granted him. His Lordship, who always laughs at his brother ministers for fools, and then follows their opinions, managed his message (as your Grace will hear hereafter with the greatest exactness from Mr. Fox) with very indifferent discretion; omitted some things he should have said, and added others he should not have said. The event ended in the King's sending back to Mr. Fox, and putting it to his honour and conscience if he would desert his service at this critical time (Mr. Fox bids mé add, without departing from his system of governing by the Duke of Newcastle singly). Thus it stands at present; and at this minute, I suppose, if they have not already been rejected by him, they have some emissary with Mr. Pitt with *carte blanche*. I shall continue to give your Grace an account of this whole transaction as soon as I am made acquainted with every step during its progress, but imagine it will be some time before there will be an absolute decision. 1756.

I am, &c. &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

P. S. Mr. Fox desires your Grace will impart this to Lord Digby, to whom he will write to-morrow.

1756.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

October 19. 1756.

My dear Lord,

I could write as long a letter as your Grace has honoured me with, in only endeavouring to express my sense of your great goodness to me, which is such that it surprises me as well, though not so much, as it delights me.

I had a conversation yesterday with his Majesty. He was calm, serious, full of anger, but determined not to show it. Because the chancellor did not come to town till last night, and till he came, the Duke of Newcastle (like Tom Thimble in the Rehearsal) knew not what to do nor what to say; and (I suppose) desired his Majesty to keep himself open to any conduct that might be thought advisable. Mr. Pitt is come to town this morning, and my place will, I doubt not, with any terms, be offered him.* If he refuses, I may be applied to go on, but surely there is no danger that H. R. H., or any friend I have, should, after this, and the notoriety of my intended resignation, think it possible. I hope to-morrow evening to hear H. R. H. say it is not, and then, my Lord, I promise you I will not

* "Mr. Fox, extremely discontent at having no power, no confidence, no favour (all entirely engrossed by the old monopolist [a]), has asked leave to resign. It is not yet granted. If Mr. Pitt will, or can, accept the seals, probably Mr. Fox will be indulged — if Mr. Pitt will not, why then it is impossible to tell you what will happen." *Walpole Letters*, vol. iii. p. 246.

[a] The Duke of Newcastle.

serve any longer as I am. I may be turned out, 1756.
but whether I am or no, the Duke of Newcastle's reign is, I verily think, over.

I wish with him all difficulties would vanish, but I foresee many. Your letter, my Lord, has increased, not diminished, my desire to talk with your Grace; for which purpose Rigby and I will dine with your Grace on Saturday next. I cannot at this time be absent more than two days, of which Sunday must be one. We propose to lie Friday night at Slough or Reading, and by that means (bar accidents) hope to dine with your Grace at your usual hour.* I know not which way to learn what passes with Pitt, but I may know before I see your Grace. At all events, I may almost say that what your Grace dislikes most cannot happen; and that I have great hopes that I shall come as much at liberty, as I am inclined to follow your Grace's kind and good advice. Pray, my Lord, show this to Lord Digby, and may I trouble you by telling him in it that my wicked rebellion has so put the court wheels out of order, that the Prince's establishment has not yet been carried to him, and may be Pitt may have the new modelling it.

H. Fox.

I beg my best compliments to her Grace. I

Sunday, Bath.

* "Mr. Fox arrived here yesterday at two o'clock, dined with the Duke of Bedford, and set out this morning after breakfast, to be at Holland House to-morrow morning." *Wilmot Correspondence. MS.*

1756. don't believe there were more than a dozen French prisoners taken, and they were really Germans, or Swiss and Protestants. New difficulties concerning the foreign troops will arise every day.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Marlborough House, Oct. 26. 1756.

My dear Lord,

As I am obliged to go out of town to-morrow morning, I can't omit giving you this trouble: what you have so justly wished for, to save this nation by the present ministers being removed, is so well effected as to want nothing but a conjunction *between Harry Fox and Mr. Pitt*, which I imagine nobody could bring about so well and with so much authority as you; as this is purely my own thought, and what I have all the reason in the world to think you will approve of, I am sure

You will forgive this from your, &c.

MARLBOROUGH.

I cannot from my last conversation with Mr. Fox be sure if things are yet mature enough for this conjunction, therefore should wish you would see Mr. Fox before you take any step about it.

1756.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

October 30. 1756.

My dear Lord,

Every word Pitt has said was in concert with Legge and Leicester House. The Duke of Devonshire went to him from the King to-day, and found him much more moderate. But he could not act with me as minister. He foresaw, I suppose, that my place would be the Treasury. I can't much blame him, my Lord; for in that case what would he be but paymaster again under another Pelham, with an employment of a higher rank? Does your Grace think I can refuse to act without I have Treasury, when my having less or more ambition may be the quiet or disquiet of the King and the public in this critical conjuncture? But nothing is determined. You have given me leave; and your Grace may possibly have a messenger before you are up on Monday to beg your Grace's company here with the Duke of Devonshire that day. You shall certainly have an express whether I shall be ripe for asking that favour of your Grace or not. I beg my best respects to her Grace. Will not her Grace begin to fancy it possible that I may not be quite so ambitious as she thinks me?

I am, &c. &c.

H. Fox.

1756.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUCHESS OF BEDFORD.

Bedford House, half-past three, Tuesday.

I am just returned hither from Kensington, my dearest love, and have received positive orders from the King not to go out of town till after a meeting of the Lords of the Cabinet, and other principal persons, which cannot be before to-morrow night, at Devonshire House, in order to propose a plan to Mr. Pitt, upon which an administration can be settled, which if not agreed to by him we are to go on without him; and indeed when I come to relate to you, the impracticability of this man, it will amaze you. I hope to be with you certainly by twelve or one o'clock on Thursday. I was in with the King this morning, and most graciously received, though I found his Majesty in great wrath, and that I think with reason, for the cavalier treatment he has received from Mr. Pitt. If your brother comes to Woburn time enough to be at Devonshire House to-morrow night, you are desired to send him up. Adieu, my dearest love.

B.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUCHESS OF BEDFORD.

Bedford House, Nov. 2. 1756.

When I wrote to you from your sister's, I had no time to add any thing more to that letter,

as I was desirous it should come to you this night as early as was possible. I am now just come in from the play from Lady Coventry's box, who desires a thousand compliments to you and Caroline: the Duchess of Hamilton was with her, in the height of beauty. 1756.

I will now give you as clear and as short a narrative as I can, of all I can relate which has passed since I came to town. I found upon my coming to the King's Head, the Duke of Marlborough and Mr. Fox, and upon discussing with the latter, before the Duke of Devonshire came in, I found every thing confirmed which I had before heard of the impracticability of Mr. Pitt, who would not serve with Mr. Fox as a minister, and seemed determined to place himself and family sole governors of every thing. However as they had not presumption enough to name the first Lord of the Treasury, of which Mr. Legge was to be a Commissioner and Chancellor of the Exchequer, it was hoped by us then present, that by the King's nominating the Duke of Devonshire first Lord, such a control would be laid on Pitt and his friends, the treasury continuing in the King's power, that Mr. Fox, though not in a cabinet councillor's place, would still keep such a weight in the House of Commons as would hinder Pitt and his party from getting the absolute ascendancy over the King himself, and confine them to that proper degree of power they had a right to expect, and in which they might have been useful to the public. When the Duke of Devonshire came

1756. in, and we had dined, and Mr. Rigby had retired to your sister's, we began to talk of the business of our meeting, and after the first assurances of good wishes, each to the other, the Duke of Devonshire gave us an account of all that had passed between him and Mr. Pitt, and though he condemned his impracticability, and declared his predilection for Mr. Fox, yet he plainly leaned to the coming into their terms, though he absolutely refused coming into the treasury with Mr. Legge. In this unpleasant situation things were last night, when I parted from Mr. Fox at half-past one. He told me he had mentioned to the King my being in town, who seemed very desirous of seeing me. Accordingly I went to court this morning, and immediately after the levee went into the King's closet, who began in the most gracious manner thanking me for the part I had acted, and lamenting the terrible state of public affairs, and most bitterly exclaimed against Pitt's insolent treatment of him. He hardly gave me time to speak at all, being very eager in discourse the whole time I stayed with him, which was about half an hour. Lord Granville then went in, and carried the King a paper drawn up by himself, which, though short, was replete with good sense, and which tended to make on the part of his Majesty such offers to Pitt and his family as he cannot reasonably refuse, but such as if he does (which I make no doubt he will), must put him in the wrong in the opinion of every reasonable man, and enable us all to weather the storm of opposition, should

they be so rash as to undertake it. I have not time to explain the whole of this now, but will when I see you : upon the Duke of Devonshire's coming out of the closet, he brought me orders to stay in town, till a meeting could be had to consider of the proposal, which at that instant Lord Granville was communicating to me and Mr. Fox, and which meeting is now fixed for to-morrow night at Devonshire House. I then went to Lady Yarmouth and then to the Duke, who seems much pleased with the state in which things now appear. I believe the Duke of Newcastle and the Chancellor resign on Thursday. 1756.

I am quite tired with writing, so must defer the rest till we meet, which I hope will be on Thursday.

Ever unalterably yours,

BEDFORD.

P. S. If your brother comes to Woburn time enough to be at Devonshire House to-morrow night, you are desired to send him up. Adieu.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, November 4. 1756.

After what Rigby has just now told me, your Grace won't imagine I am writing to persuade your Grace. But as I am prouder of your friendship and good opinion than of any place the King could

1756. give me, I must omit nothing that may justify the part I take. I left the King yesterday determined to name his own treasury. The Duke of Devonshire, not I, got his leave to offer Legge the Exchequer, and me the Pay Office; I refused any office; and, upon a little consideration, however I might dislike the actors, approved of the scene that opened itself, for the following reasons. I think peace and quiet this session as necessary to this country, as ever a night's sleep was to a man dying with a fever. No system in which I am a minister can be carried on without great contention. And by a combination of circumstances obvious to your Grace, I cannot be a minister (without the Duke of Newcastle, &c. and against Pitt &c.), without being *the prime* minister.

I am not capable of it. Richelieu, were he alive, could not guide the councils of a nation, if (which would be my case) he could not from November to April have above two hours in four-and-twenty to think of any thing but the House of Commons.

I should not be an honest man if I attempted, at a nation's risk, a task that no man alive can be equal to.

I return to where I begun; there is in this arrogant and foolish scheme, peace in the House of Commons, and therefore I am for it. That they will admit of no other and better with the same advantage of quiet to the nation, is my grief, not my fault. But if Pitt will have it that either he or I must be dishonest and mad, let it be him that is

so, and for the sake of the public, let me assist to make his arrogance of as little detriment to the public as possible. I am, my dear Lord, your Grace's, &c. &c. 1756.

H. Fox.

The Duke of Devonshire went to Pitt (who has the gout in the country) this morning. Pitt demurs to accepting without Holdernesse goes out, and gives no answer till to-morrow night, when he shall have consulted Lord Temple.

LORD GOWER TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, November 9. 1756.

My Lord,

I was with his Majesty this morning, who was extremely satisfied with my determination of staying in his service, especially when I informed him it was with your Grace's advice, and that your resolution was (though you could not think it proper for you to enter into his service circumstanced as things were at present) not to obstruct his measures nor to throw this country into more confusion at this critical conjuncture. His Grace of Devon is a good deal embarrassed, laments much that the King could not avail himself at this time of your integrity and abilities as a minister, and protests that in the situation he now finds himself, there is no man's opinion or advice that he would

1756. so soon follow as your Grace's if you will deign to give it him. His resolutions at present are very honest and sensible, if he has firmness sufficient to execute them; but from what has passed one must doubt: in short, he solicits your friendship, and I think you may keep him out of Legge's hands. Though I cannot say that I see much light, yet I think sufficient to attempt something with him. I had a great deal of conversation with Mr. Fox, who will inform you himself of what passed better than I can do. The resignations are to take place on Thursday, and O'Brian* is among the resigners. The garrison of Oswego were not put to the sword, for the governor of Canada has sent four or five hundred of them to Plymouth with a genteel well writ letter to the commanding officer of the port: the rest are sent to France, and are to come to England from thence. The day was barren of events; the Chancellor and Duke of Newcastle resign on Thursday: that act will give me implicit satisfaction: the only one that can give me more, will be to see your Grace and Mr. Fox invested with their power.

I am your Grace's much obliged
and obedient servant,
GOWER.

* Percy Windham O'Brien, created Earl of Thomond.

1756.

LADY BETTY WALDEGRAVE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's, November 16. 1756.

Will you forgive me troubling you with this to thank you for the apology you was so good as to think necessary to write me, with regard to your conduct in these times, and which would flatter me much if I was thoroughly convinced you took it as I meant it; which was only giving a little latitude to my own thoughts, to Lady Ossory, and wishing much to hear you take a share in conducting these men and measures; which seems at present almost necessary for our present salvation. You cannot blame Madame de Chevreuse for wishing success to her country, and being anxious to hear one she loves so much as you a principal actor in this scene. Farther would be impertinence. However I hope and think from what the Duke of D. told Peg to-day, things will go on at least better in the closet, for he says he finds things much more reasonable and easy since the departure of his Grace of N., who has now to all appearances taken himself quite away, and I hope never to return. They say Lord C—r (*Lord Chancellor Hardwicke*) will do the same thing on Friday next: I suppose he will expect a little douceur upon giving up eleven thousand pounds a year. The commissioners for the great seal are to be Sir Stafford Smyth, Judge Wilmot, and Lord Chief Justice Willes, and not the Master of the Rolls.

1756. There is nothing new to-day; therefore I shall talk of a more pleasing thing to you, which is the dear Countess, who honoured me with a visit yesterday after Court, and enquired much after her Woburn friends; by her soul, nothing will make her so happy as to have you King* for her country, because it is honouring it so much, and that you will be adored there. I told her I would let you know how well you were with her. I assure you she is grown so grave and well behaved, that she is now really the decent Lady Coventry. Pray tell the Duchess she may possibly not hear of me in the way she expects this fortnight. I am very well, and my boys much better; owing, I believe, to your indulgence to them; I take the liberty to send them to Streatham to-morrow. Tavistock I saw on Sunday, and Gowran: they are both well. I should have wrote to the little countess to-night, but am prevented by company coming in. I am impatient for to-morrow fortnight, when I hope to see you and the rest of my friends well. I am glad to hear the Duchess has got so pleasant a horse. Pray tell them that the Duke is gone to-day to Newmarket to see a trial: I am sure he will enjoy this. I have nothing more to add, than to say I hope you love me as much as I really do you, which will make me quite happy.

Adieu, my dear Duke of Bedford.

* Alluding to the probability of the Duke of Bedford accepting the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

1756.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, November 18. 1756.

My Lord,

I hope your Grace will excuse the liberty I take in troubling you, and not think the reason that induces me to do it, an impertinent one, as it arises from a desire of showing my great regard for your Grace.

Mr. Fox called on me since his return from Woburn, and I own I am sorry to find by him that your Grace is not yet come to a resolution with regard to Ireland. I shall not presume to mention my own wishes on that head, though certainly nothing could give me greater pleasure than to see your Grace take a part that would undoubtedly be of so great service to the King and this country. However, my Lord, as I am willing to flatter myself, that it is not yet impossible but that your Grace may still accept the Lieutenancy, I am desirous of taking no step in regard to that country without previously acquainting your Grace with it. During the course of the last session, I got the approbation of parliament to increase the force within that kingdom from 12,000 to near 15,000 men: before the levies were completed orders were sent from hence to embark for New York as many private men as were raised for the 24 additional companies, and to send the officers to England, who have since been placed in the new battalions, by which means the force in

1756. Ireland was very near reduced to its former state. I represented this to the King and Duke; and a resolution was come to, to raise one regiment of 1,200 men and five companies of invalids of 100 men each. This was settled, and I was coming up to town to carry it into execution, when the late battle broke out. The King has since given me directions to lose no time in this affair; but I have delayed it, in order to inform your Grace of it, and to know whether you would have any objection to my going on with it, as the service requires that no time should be lost. Give me leave to take this opportunity of assuring your Grace that no man can be more desirous of the honour of your friendship than I am, and that nothing shall be wanting on my part to deserve it, and to convince your Grace of the respect and regard with which I am

My Lord, your Grace's

Most obedient humble servant,

DEVONSHIRE.

The Colchester is arrived, as also the four regiments that were in Minorca. The King has forbid the colonels to appear in his presence till their conduct has been enquired into, and has ordered Sir John Ligonier, and I think Haske and Cholmondely, to examine them and make a report of what they shall urge in their defence. My Lord Chancellor resigns the seals to-morrow: it is to be put in commission, and the commissioners are to be Lord Chief Justice Willes, Mr. Baron Smyth, and Sir Eardley Willmot.

1756.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

Woburn Abbey, Nov. 19. 1756.

I am truly sensible of the honour your Grace does me, in communicating to me the orders your Grace has received, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from his Majesty, for raising a regiment of 1200 men and five companies of invalids of 100 men each, for the security of that kingdom, and for completing the troops there, to the number approved of by parliament. Your Grace's good wishes that I may succeed you in that Lieutenancy are very flattering to me; and though the circumstances of the times render it impossible for me to come to any farther decision than I have already mentioned to Mr. Fox, yet I firmly believe whilst the government of that country continues in your Grace's hands, no inconvenience can possibly occur to the public, especially as you seem to be in readiness to carry his Majesty's present orders for raising new troops there into immediate execution, which, in my humble opinion, ought not to be postponed one minute, as the last draughts made from thence to America must necessarily have weakened the army and reduced it below the standard which the parliament thought necessary to be kept up in this time of danger for their defence. Your Grace's kind assurances of desiring to cultivate a strict friendship with me are very obliging, and I shall always endeavour by a suitable return to convince

1756. you how I esteem the offer of it, being with great respect and regard,

My Lord, &c.

P. S. The Duchess of Bedford and I join in wishing your Grace joy of the honour you received yesterday *: I am sorry I was not able to attend the Chapter.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

November 20. 1756.

My dear Lord,

I am much concerned lest seeing your name in the newspapers, your Grace should think I have spoke of your intentions, with respect to the Lieutenancy of Ireland, in a manner I was no ways authorised by your Grace to do. But upon my word I have not, and, though it is a saying that we easily believe what we wish, yet so little has fell out according to my desire of late, that my wishing a thing extremely is a reason of itself with me for disbelieving it. I am sure I have that reason in this case, for I do wish your Grace's acceptance ardently; and the conversation I have had regarding it with Lord Granville, Lord Gower, H. R. H. and the Duke of Devonshire, have showed me how much it imports me and my situation for perhaps as

* Knight of the Garter.

long as I live. I have spoke to no others upon the subject, and I could not give them all the hopes they and I wanted to entertain. The first named, indeed, who is sanguine, said he knew your Grace, and since you considered of it, he knew you would see the consequence of it to the public, to the King, and take it; and, perhaps, but I don't know he has, he may have said so. If that should be your determination, as God send it may, every thing relative to your government of Ireland will, I can promise your Grace, be made smooth and easy to you from all quarters. 1756.

I have set up my Lord Powerscourt at Stockbridge, and will certainly keep out Dr. Hayes there. It would be of use if your Grace would give me leave to lend the turnpike there one hundred pounds at 4½ per cent. in your name. It is a new turnpike for mending the Salisbury road, through Stockbridge and Popham lane, and of course I believe a benefit to your Grace's tenants.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. FOX.

Woburn Abbey, Nov. 22. 1756.

Dear Sir,

My seeing my own name in the newspapers for the Lieutenancy of Ireland did not give me the least uneasiness, nor any suspicion of your having spoke of my intentions in a manner you was no

1756. way authorised to do. I know at these times people's guesses and coffee-house conversations are put into the papers as authentic intelligence. With regard to my own thoughts upon this subject, they are very much the same as when I saw you last, and I fear it will be impossible for me to accept it unless his Majesty can be prevailed on to give you either some considerable employment, or, by a peerage to Lady Caroline Fox, such marks of his favour as shall take off the unjust proscription that has been laid on you by the new ministers; to speak my real sentiments, I think they must sooner or later be obliged to shake hands with you, unless by your absolutely flying off, you render it impossible for them to do it, and thereby necessarily throw them into the hands of the late chancellor and the Duke of Newcastle. This would be the most fatal of all events for this country, and therefore (excuse the liberty I take) I cannot approve the opposition you intend publicly to make to Dr. Hayes* at Stockbridge, as it can only tend to exasperate men's minds, and to enable those who wish you ill, to represent you to the King as in direct opposition to his measures and ministers, for this reason, as well as that I have ever been determined to have nothing to do with so venal a place as Stockbridge, I must desire that my name be not mentioned there in lending any money to the Turnpike. I think every

* George Hay, L.L.D., principal to the Arches Court of Canterbury; made a Commissioner of the Admiralty, December 1756, when he was re-elected.

thing depends upon your coolness and firmness at present, and therefore I hope you will take in the manner in which it is really meant, the frankness which I have used in giving you my real sentiments upon the subject of your last letter. 1756.

I am, dear sir,

BEDFORD.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Holland House, Nov. 23. 1756.

My dear Lord,

I return your Grace a thousand thanks for your kind letter of November 22d, and most particularly for that very obliging part of it relative to my particular situation. But if his Majsety's humour should still remain what it was when last spoke to on my subject, I should be ready to hang myself if the Duke of Bedford denied himself to the King and to the public on my account. The proscription of me, my Lord, proceeds from Leicester House, and yet I am of your Grace's opinion, that sooner or later they are likely to agree with me if I keep the honour and strength that your Grace and other friends have given me; and I do assure your Grace that I shall not fly off so as to lose sight of, much less prevent, such an agreement. I here give your Grace my word that, whenever H. R. Highness, your Grace, and the Duke of Marlborough, or any two of you, tell me that it is

1756. in your opinions for the good of the public, there is nobody I will not shake hands with, there are no terms I will not submit to. But your Grace and I differ a little about the manner of bringing to agreement such insolent men as these are. I offered to join them cordially as Paymaster without being of the Cabinet Council: this brought no agreement, but induced that (may I not say insolent?) proposal that G. Grenville should be Paymaster and I Treasurer of the Navy. They are now angry that I oppose Dr. Hayes; but though they knew the interest was in me, they would not apply to me, but expect that I should, unasked, choose him, for fear of disobliging them. As to representations of me to his Majesty, the King knows and is mightily pleased that I oppose Dr. Hayes. Public measures, I again assure your Grace, I will support, not oppose, and do my best to make this a quiet session. I own I see danger of their joining the Duke of Newcastle; but I think your Grace taking Ireland, and my showing strength in the House of Commons (for personal complaisance does harm and spoils them), may effectually prevent it.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Leicester Fields, Thursday evening, January 20.

My dear Lord,

Hearing so very unpleasant an account of your Grace's illness to-day from Harry Vernon, I

take the liberty to continue my correspondence, 1756.
though I have nothing particular to send to you.

The call of the House almost filled it for the first time this year, but did not keep it sitting till a quarter past three, when the call was unanimously put off till next Tuesday se'nnight. The motion for the inquiry that was said to be intended for to-morrow is also laid aside, and I have heard to-day, the language of the Tories is to drop all thoughts of it, lest it should hamper their new friends the new administration, in difficulties that might force them to quit. This is being steady to them indeed; but what is to become of their addresses and instructions, and above all their popularity under this acquiescence, I cannot guess. I never saw any thing so extraordinary as the behaviour of the present House of Commons, nor can I describe it half so well as Soame Jenyns did just now at dinner at Lord Halifax's. He says, it is like two or three surly countrymen that walk round and round one another, and jostle a little, but each is afraid to strike the first blow, lest the other should take the law of him. I own though, at present, I can't help thinking things will go on as they are, and that this at last will turn out the quietest session in the world, — there is the greatest appearance of its being so; though if a firebrand should be thrown in, there is combustible enough to make a very sudden flame. Mr. Pitt's illness, I think, contributes to this quiet; and his illness increases, and I have reason to think to such a degree that they imagined

1756. him last night in great danger, from the gout having violently attacked his head. This they don't acknowledge at his door, though they allow it to be in both feet and one hand. The court martial is over. Mr. Byng read his defence in court, but would call no witnesses, resting his innocence upon the evidence brought against him. I hear the court have taken till Monday to pronounce sentence, which nobody imagines can amount to capital punishment. Mr. West with his large fleet has put back a little shattered, and a little chagrined too I fancy; for the same wind will carry the French Indiamen home that were intended to have made his fortune. The Anti-Gallican privateer, in which Miss Chudleigh is a part owner, has taken one of the French Indiamen worth a hundred thousand pounds, and which is another reflection upon our navy, after the Sheerness man-of-war had looked at her, and was afraid from her size to meddle with her. A Captain Graves, who commands her, had wrote to the Admiralty he had met such a ship, but did not think himself of force to attack her; and the next news is the privateer had taken her, after killing the captain and eight men. He fought her off the Groyne in sight of many spectators from the shore, astonished at the assurance of the small vessel, and when she struck carried her into Lisbon. I think poor Captain Graves has nothing to do but to hang himself, and save the trouble of a court martial. If my letter of yesterday reached your Grace time enough to-night to send me a line

by the post, I hope I shall be favoured with one to know what to do about ordering all the Irish officers to their posts; for I shall not insert in the Gazette, nor give any directions in a more private way, without your express orders. 1757.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Leicester Fields, Tuesday night, January 25. 1757.

I am just come from a very thin opera, where the Duke of Devonshire has informed me of his letter to your Grace; and I am now about to write to Mr. Waite, for the private information of the Lords Justices, the King's determination of the six battalions destined for foreign service; and due notice shall be given with all despatch to the several officers belonging to them, to repair forthwith to their several corps according to your Grace's approbation and order. I told his Grace your unhappy state of health, and delivered your message to the King through him. I am to be with him again to-morrow before he goes to court about the bounty upon corn, and will make your Grace acquainted with every step that is taken upon that and every other matter you have given an opinion upon during its progress, and shall never presume to proceed upon any business till I know your pleasure, as my steady and earnest desire is and shall be to obey you to the letter.

1757. Lord Ashburnham was not at the opera; if I see him at Arthur's presently, I shall not forget your message to him. Sharpe, of the council, I saw there: he told me somebody had been to him to get Mr. Quick excused for Devonshire, but he had referred them to your Grace.

There is no sentence yet pronounced against Mr. Byng, from whence it is concluded there is difference of opinion in the court martial upon him. There has been that too, both yesterday and to-day, in the House of Commons, though no divisions. Yesterday it was upon the ordnance estimate; and also upon an accusation of Mr. Beckford's against the Duke of Newcastle for having given encouragement to smuggling, which my Lord Register defended him upon. To-day the quarrel was upon some words to be inserted in the Mutiny Bill to enable the King to quarter foreign troops *without consent of Parliament*, which were the litigated words, and no determination was taken upon it. Sir Thomas Robinson observed yesterday that the floor of the House of Commons was covered with gunpowder; to which Mr. Charles Townshend only added, and he believed covered with thatch: I yet don't believe the torch will be brought. Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Devonshire told me, is well enough to go out, but not to Court or Parliament. I told Johnny not to expect his Betty or her brother till Thursday; indeed I should think they would be hardly able to get here to-morrow. The water filled my chaise full at Coney, and Mim's Wash was im-

passable; so that I went round by Lord Albemarle's. 1757.

P. S.—Mr. Walker of Spisbury has been to see me; I shall return his visit, and invite him to dine with me. The young Dux and Bully have been to Montem without going to bed.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

From Betty House, seven o'clock, Friday, January 28. 1757.

Mr. Byng's sentence is at last pronounced, and he is capitally convicted, and condemned to be shot to death. But the court martial have recommended him to the King for mercy at the bottom of the sentence, and sent besides a very strong letter to the Lords of the Admiralty to enforce their petition for saving his life. I was shown the sentence to-day in the House of Commons, and the letter by Hunter of the Admiralty; and most people also having had a sight of it, I have thought it remained so little necessary to be kept secret, that I have wrote to Cleveland for copies of both sentence and letter to send to your Grace by to-night's post. He has sent me word I shall have his answer presently; if they come time enough, I shall send them to the post to-night. I imagine he may have sent to his first lord for permission to send them to me.

The very hasty determinations of the last con-

1757. ciliabulum that I wrote your Grace about are postponed, by the Duke's having gone to Windsor last Wednesday, and not being to return till to-morrow. The despatches that were expected and intended to be forwarded in such haste to your Grace, and so on to Ireland, have been stopped by his absence, and I could only by last night's post give Mr. Waite a little intelligence of what at present was intended to be done, for the Lords Justices' private information; which I did not choose to make an office letter, as most likely the opinions here may be altered once or twice more before the final destination of the expedition is fixed.

The six regiments remain the same that were before designed to go; but from the inability and infirmity of some of the officers in those corps, there will be several changes to be made, and promotions necessarily will follow some of them. In order for your Grace to determine how you will please that shall be done, I am with Sir Robert Wilmot getting together all the memorials and recommendations that have come in our way to you, and putting them so in a clear light that you may, by casting your eye over them, immediately see what you approve or disapprove being done; but it will be absolutely necessary that something must, with respect to many of the officers that will now be put under orders for foreign service.

If the Duke's last resolution, and Mr. Pitt's official letter to your Grace, and every other determination of his Majesty's cabinet council to send

the last positive final orders that must go to Ireland for this expedition can be ready, as I hope they will, by Sunday night, I mean to carry them to your Grace myself Monday morning, and then, with your approbation, forward them from Woburn to Dublin. Lady Betty desires I will leave all the chit-chat of the town for her to write to the Duchess to-morrow. She will be better able than me, as she is now going to Lady Middleton's ball. Lady Darlington gave one last night, and Lord Weymouth was to have given one to-morrow after the opera; but Sunday morning coming so soon, and there not being besides time enough for Prince Edward to get leave to go, it is put off till Tuesday. Lady Essex invites all the company there. 1757.

There is a talk of Lord Cathcart going to Paris to congratulate the French King on his escape.* If that should prove true, possibly there may be more in it than merely making a bow; but I give no credit to the report. The Monarch is, as your Grace will easily imagine, horrid angry with the court martial, who have shoved the odium of Byng's death, if he is to suffer, in some measure off their own shoulders. I wish that puppy Cleveland† had sent me the sentence; but it is not yet come, and the post will stay no longer, it being now above half an hour after eight.

I am, &c. &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

* From the attack of the assassin Damien.

† Secretary to the Admiralty.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Leicester Fields, February 3. 1757.

I am much obliged to your Grace and the Duchess, for your goodness in letting me know by to-day's post that you think yourself in the main better. I hope the pain in your wrist was only owing to your having held your horse's bridle in that hand, and that you are entirely relieved from it before this time.

I did not write to your Grace last night, as I did not hear any kind of news to communicate to you. I met Vernon walking his match from hence, and Sir Robert Wilmot told me of his letter; so there remained nothing of either business or pleasure for me to report, after two so very good and exact secretaries in their several departments.

I was at the House of Commons both yesterday and to-day; but there is nothing doing, though much to be done, as they say, the beginning of next week, when the long-expected motion for the inquiry is to come, *with a proviso* that Mr. Pitt's health will admit of his presence. I hear that he is to-day so well as to propose going to Court to-morrow; that journey has hitherto been attended with such bad consequences, as to confine him for a considerable time after it. Whether there is any thing in the air of that place foreign to his constitution, or he meets with any thing hard of digestion that affects his stomach, or what it is I don't know; but

he has certainly been very restless after every visit he has paid his new-old master. He will find to-morrow a real grievance to complain of; for the King has absolutely refused to make that experienced officer Sir Richard Lyttleton a major-general, and the eight senior colonels upon the list, leaving out Rorayol, are absolutely appointed without him. Hopson, the last of them, is to command our seven battalions upon the expedition, and Admiral Holbourne at sea. 1757.

General Waldegrave's lady told me this morning that she spent an hour last night tête-à-tête with the King, who was so pleased and entertained with her company that he was ten minutes after his time at cards, and made an apology to Princess Caroline that Lady Betty had been so entertaining he could not leave her. They told of a great many pretty stories; talked of Vernon's walking match, which the King said he could easily have done formerly, for he was once a very strong man, though now grown old and good for nothing; much about Woburn,—what sort of a place it was, and how we passed our time there; lamented as a friend Lord Gower's love of play; and expressed his concern for Weymouth's losses, who, he heard, never kept company with any women, and therefore could not be a good kind of man, and loved nothing but play and drinking strong beer. Poor Weymouth! but Madame la Générale did his character justice. He would willingly have had a little politics, by asking what the town said, if people were in good

1757. humour, and such sort of leading questions; but our Betty has not lived at court so long without knowing who is to be trusted. But now comes the compliment of all; for his Majesty told the Princess *that woman has had three children, and yet she looks like a virgin.* The Princess, in charity to Lady Yarmouth, should make her a present of her own deafness. To be sure the making Johnny a General is a deep-laid plot, and he will be immediately ordered, not to America,—that is not far enough, for his Majesty cannot have done before he comes back again such a step as that; but we shall pick a fresh quarrel with somebody in the Antipodes, to send the General far enough out of the way. Now I have had my laugh at Lady Betty, I wish I could indulge the same passion at Mr. Fox and his family; but he himself is, I think, a great deal out of order: he keeps his room with a bad cold and disorder in his bowels, and looks sadly; but his youngest boy is, I fear, dying, which affects both him and Lady Caroline excessively. I met Lord Hillsborough with them last night, who told me his last letters from the North of Ireland bring most dismal accounts of the want of provisions; the frost is more intense there than ever was known in that country, and famine is almost at their door. I told him the sum of money your Grace had got from the King for a bounty, and that it should be despatched with all imaginable haste to Dublin. It shall certainly be prepared against next Board-day at the Treasury.

Nothing, I understand, is yet decided about Mr. Byng's fate. Lord Gower told me the Duke was very earnest to know your Grace's opinion: his Lordship had gone so far as to tell him he conjectured you were on the merciful side of the question.* I added to my Lord Gower, I believed from your conversation that your Grace inclined that way. His Royal Highness himself is against his suffering; a thing that will never be believed if he is put to death. Lord Gower told me it was under consideration if the King had it not in his power to alter his punishment for pains and penalties. I should think he has not; but the King may keep him alive a prisoner by frequent reprieves, or by Lady Caroline Fox's thought, which I do not think a bad one, if it be practicable, which is, to order him for execution, but connive at his escape. The reports about the court martial are various and infinite, and I think it meets with general disapprobation: there are some go so far as to say the sentence is illegal. Should 1757.

* The following is the Duke of Bedford's answer to the Honourable Mrs. Osborn, sister of Admiral Byng.

Woburn Abbey, Feb. 6. 1757.

Madam,

I am but just able through extreme weakness of my right hand, occasioned by the gout, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter. All I can at present say in answer to it is, that in case his Majesty shall be pleased to refer the sentence of the court martial to the Cabinet Council, nothing but absolute incapacity on account of health shall prevent my attending it; and shall be very happy if, upon a short examination into the proceedings of the court martial, I shall find myself at liberty to adopt those sentiments of mercy which that court has so strongly recommended to his Majesty, as no one has a more real regard for yourself, and Lord Torrington and his family, than myself.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

1757. that be the case, it does not acquit Byng, for the sentence is final; it only arraigns the court martial.

Admiral Boscawen is gone to Portsmouth to-day to hasten the transports, &c. for the expedition. It has alarmed the whole town, who, I suppose, think he is gone to shoot Mr. Byng himself. I saw Mr. Sharpe to-day at court. He tells me Mr. Quick stands sheriff for Devonshire, and will not be postponed; and moreover, that for the counties of Bedford and Devon he shall never listen but to your Grace, and so he told Lord Sandys.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Leicester Fields, February 7. 1757.

I think myself most obliged to yourself and your secretay for your letter to-day: had it brought me a better account of your state of health, and a nearer prospect of seeing you, I had been quite happy. That my conduct has satisfied your Grace, gives me most infinite pleasure; that it may always do so, shall be my chief study. The commissions the Duke of Devonshire carries to the King to-morrow to be signed. I sent a civil message to Mr. Pitt by Wood upon the subject. I had as civil an answer in writing, that he was not well enough to see the King, and chose his Grace to transact the business.

Charles Townshend to-day made a long declama-

tion against Alderman Baker's contract for furnishing the troops in America, and called for papers to accuse the last Board of Treasury. Baker defended himself exceedingly well by two short words, "prove it." Mr. Fox spoke better than almost I ever heard him, and met with universal applause; said, which I am sorry to say is very true, that though much out of order, he came to the House to-day upon the rumour of the long-expected and *long-wished-for* inquiry being to come on; showed the absurdity of Townshend's violent abuse before he had convicted Baker, and the impropriety of condemning at the time you move for papers to show if there has been blame; pressed for a further inquiry; and, with great decency towards the present administration, showed no more inclination towards the last than led to an exculpation of measures he was himself joined in with them. 1757.

The House was up a little after five; and the matter ended in Lord Dupplin and Nugent joining with Townshend for his papers, and their moving for many more, to clear up the conduct of the Treasury. It looked upon the whole as if they had wherewith to clear themselves, and that Townshend is like to catch a Tartar in Alderman Baker, who is as shrewd a fellow as any in the world. In the House of Lords, Lord Mansfield moved your Lordships that Earl Ferrers, who has been beating, and burning, and shooting at his wife, may be, though a Peer, amenable to the justice of the Court of King's Bench; and their Lordships came

1757. to a resolution that a Peer must answer a Lord Chief Justice's warrant in a different manner from that which Lord Ferrers has hitherto done, which was by shooting at the officer who came to serve it upon him.

The sentence of the court martial is, by the King's command, referred, for the legality of it, to the Twelve Judges: a most extraordinary and unprecedented reference. I was told in the House of Commons they demurred upon giving their opinion. They may find that perhaps too difficult to avoid.

I have a great deal of Irish business to lay before your Grace; matters of lesser moment I will venture to reply to, taking the advice of the Duke of Devonshire and Sir Robert Wilmot according to precedents: nothing of consequence shall I presume to touch upon, till I have the satisfaction of seeing you. There is a case of compassion I should be glad I had your commands upon, if you don't come till the end of the week, as it don't admit of delay; and that is an order to pay up the arrears of the corps going to America, as it will put a little cash in the poor devils of officers' pockets, and enable some of them buy a bed and such things they may not be able to get without that assistance. And it is the same thing to the Government, though not to them, if that is paid now or half a year hence. Lady Betty has kept me so long at dinner, scolding at not seeing you to-night, as she says she expected, that I am afraid this will be too late for the post if I add any more, than that I am going to a ball at

Lady Rochford's, where the Duke is to be and Prince Edward, by his grandfather's orders*, who says he shall see the world to learn something, for he can learn nothing at home. 1757.

GENERAL WOLFE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Cirencester, February 19. 1757.

My Lord,

The honour your Grace has done me, and the particular obligations you have conferred upon me, leave me no choice how to act; that which is most agreeable to your Grace must determine me, and I should be extremely pleased to have it in my power to convince your Grace, by an exact obedience to your commands, that I wish to make myself more worthy of your protection. I am very sensible that there are many gentlemen upon the list whose pretensions are a check to mine, and some of such distinguished merit that I neither desire, nor could hope, to be preferred before them. The only circumstance that can at all lessen my satisfaction on this occasion, is to be in some measure distinguished from the officers who have held this employment

* "Prince Edward's pleasures continue to furnish conversation. He has been rather forbid by the Signora Madre to make himself so common; and he has been rather encouraged by his grandfather to disregard the prohibition. The other night the Duke and he were at a ball at Lady Rochford's."— *Walpole Letters*, vol iii. p. 274.

1757. before by a rank inferior to theirs, and which seemed to be annexed to the office.

Such services as your Grace may expect from the best inclinations, I venture to assure you of; and as I am to receive and follow your Grace's directions, they will be the best and surest rules for my conduct.

The moment the officers of this country and of the regiments will permit (which I hope will be early in the next month), I shall pay my respects to your Grace in town, with all possible acknowledgments, for these marks of your favourable opinion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES WOLFE.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Bedford House, quarter past ten, Thursday evening, March 3. 1757.

Nobody is yet returned from the play; and being alone, I think I cannot do better than inform your Grace that to-day has been productive of no events, except that I hear from all hands of those who were at court, that the King appears much easier and happier than he has done for some time past.

One circumstance with relation to this tranquillity I have heard from very good authority. I cannot forbear telling you Lord Temple pressed him some

days ago very strongly for a pardon for Mr. Byng: his Majesty persevered, and told his lordship flatly he thought him guilty of cowardice in the action, and therefore could not break his word they had forced him to give to his people,—to pardon no delinquents. His lordship walked up to his nose, and, sans autre cérémonie, said, What shall you think if he dies courageously? His Majesty stifled his anger, and made him no reply. I think I never heard of such insolence.* 1757.

The House of Lords did not sit to-day, so your printers and publishers are not yet disposed of; but I heard it so strongly suspected as almost to amount to a proof, that Augustus Hervey sent to the newspapers the paragraph complained of. I shall not be sorry to have that proved upon him.

In the House of Commons, we divided upon the Wiltshire turnpike, and Baynton carried it three to one. There was no public business; a rumour of the budget being to be opened to-morrow, but I hear it since contradicted. My Lord Mayor told me there never was any thing in the City like the unpopularity of the House of Commons and Mr. Pitt upon this bill. He is not apt to be warm in his expressions, but he was so to-day.

The Tories had all got a notion in their heads, and Mr. Dickinson told me that it also had reached

* "On the affair of Mr. Byng, he (Lord Temple) had even gone so far as to sketch out some parallel between the monarch himself and the admiral, in which the advantage did not lie on the side of the battle of Oudenarde." — *Walpole Memoires*, vol. ii. p. 198.

1757. the Royal Exchange, that Mr. Fox meant to take further notice of the King's message to-day. I asked Fox about it; he told me, without knowing your Grace's and the Duke of Devonshire's sentiments of a matter of that moment, he never should, and therefore never had such an intention.

The delightful Countess of Coventry is coming into the room. I am sure you will think that an excuse for only adding that I am eternally, &c. &c.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Leicester Fields, March 21. 1757.

The Duke kept his bed all day yesterday, and was not up when I called to-day at his apartments to inquire after him at two o'clock. It is his old disorder in his leg; but they say the sore is not broke out, and this is all precaution. I think, notwithstanding the seeming impossibility of his taking so much care, that it may be true: for Fox tells me he goes very shortly abroad. There is nothing, therefore, alarming in this account.

I told Mr. Fox last night of the report that was propagated with so much industry, of Pitt's refusing to carry a message to the House for four thousand British troops to be sent to Westphalia, and that it was your Grace's opinion it should be contradicted in parliament. He told me he would manage it to-day; and if Pitt was not there, he would make

Legge disavow it. Accordingly he called upon the latter as a cabinet councillor to make the world easy upon such a scandalous report, and he in his place said neither the King or his ministers had ever had such a measure in their thoughts. Fox then added, that upon hearing such a report had been propagated (which Legge allowed he had heard much talked of in the world), he had yesterday had an audience of the Duke, who had desired him to say to the House, that for his own part it was the farthest from his thoughts to take so unreasonable or improper a step. Nothing material besides passed in the House of Commons. Miss Shepheard's Bill went through the committee in your House without opposition. 1757.

Admiral Smith has been prevailed on, though nominated by the King for Rochester, to refuse the election; but his Majesty is sturdy, and rightly says it shall nevertheless not be Dr. Hay, and old Isaac Townshend or Knowles will be the man; but I rather believe the former.*

I dined with the Board of Trade and Sir Thomas Robinson at Tommy Pelham's. Halifax told me he had been to Bedford House this morning to see you, and was sorry he had not. He seems, by his conversation to me in a whisper, to be repining for the Admiralty. There is an Irish mail come in,

* The King's reason for objecting to Dr. Hay was, that he thought the Board of Admiralty, to which Dr. Hay belonged, had thrown the odium of Byng's execution off themselves, upon him. Townshend was chosen for Rochester.

1757. but Sir Robert Wilmot has not yet sent me the correspondence. If there is any thing material in it, I shall send it by to-morrow night's post; if not, I shall not trouble you with it at Woburn. Colonel Wolfe was with me this morning, and I told him it was your Grace's opinion he should kiss the King's hand directly; and he either did to-day, or will to-morrow.

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Brelefelt, May 21. 1757.

My Lord Duke of Bedford,

I received this morning yours of the 12th, and shall be very glad if *Voorst* may be agreeable either to the Duchess or you. I flatter myself that some quieter summer I shall be allowed to park in it.

Though I have had some accounts of the internal state of affairs at home, yet I shall always be glad to hear your opinion on them. I most sincerely join with you that it is a most melancholy consideration that his Majesty has not been able yet to form a settled plan of administration; but what can the King do alone, and when so few will assist him?

I am very glad the troops will sail complete from Cork; and the two Highland battalions, I am in-

formed, will bring with them 300 men a-piece over complete. 1757.

We have a very extraordinary war here, if I can call it a war; for the French seem not to choose to begin after all their bragging, and there is a gulf of famine between the two armies that neither care to pass.

Our situation here is greatly mended, and what I once looked upon as desperate is, I flatter myself, become not extremely dangerous.

I must desire you would make my compliments to the Duchess, and to Lord Gower: he and I have not prospered this year at Newmarket.

I remain your most affectionate friend,

WILLIAM.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Arthur's, six o'clock, Thursday, June 1.

Since I came to town to-day, I have heard one or two things that I think it right to give your Grace the earliest intelligence of. The first is, that Lord George Bentinck is so ill that it is thought impossible he should outlive this night; and as I understand your Grace has mentioned that succession at Malmesbury to Forrester, it is proper you should know that the Duke of Newcastle has just now sent Lord Dupplin to Mr. Fox, to tell him

1757. that the King wants to know who is to come in for that borough. Will your Grace, therefore, choose to tell his Majesty that it is Mr. Forrester upon your recommendation?

The other business is, to let you know that there is a regiment vacant in Ireland, by Lambton's dying about noon to-day. I hope you will pardon my submitting to your consideration upon this vacancy, that if your Grace should approve of giving it to Sandford, you will have the quarter-master-general for Sebright, or who you please, and a lieut.-colonelcy of dragoons also for who you please; for Mr. Severn, I find, will now think himself very happy with Sandford's present battalion, and he will in no shape then have been intruded upon your establishment. Few people know yet of Lambton's being dead, and I should imagine the sooner you disposed of this regiment with the King the better.

Lord Loudon is come to Portsmouth. There was no news at the Secretary of State's office at three o'clock that the fleet was sailed; but I hear at this place that Lord Bolingbroke came from the Isle of Wight this morning, and says he saw them under sail.

1757.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Holland House, Friday, June 14. 1757.

My dear Lord,

I saw your Grace's anger when you left Kensington last Saturday, and I should not have the same high esteem that I have for your Grace, if you could have seen what you saw then without indignation. But it gave me great concern to observe, as I thought, that your Grace's displeasure fell in some measure upon me. I can with truth say that nothing would make me more unhappy, than that I should lose any of your Grace's good opinion by my behaviour in a transaction where every step your Grace has taken has increased the honour and regard I have for you, and at the same time added to the obligations I before lay under to your Grace.* If your Grace, when you say this scheme was spoiled by delay, means the delay of carrying the whole into execution when it was first determined two months ago, I think so too; I foresaw its consequences, lamented, and would have prevented that delay, but indeed this week there has been none. On Wednesday I saw the King for the first time. I instantly published my acceptance; wrote before I dined to the Duke of Argyle to receive Oswald †; and from that time till

*. "Fox's junto met two or three times: Lord Granville would have infused his jovial intrepidity into them: Bedford wanted no inspired ardour; but Fox himself desponded, and Bedford reproached him with it."—*Walpole Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 223.

† James Oswald, Esq., member of parliament for the boroughs of Kirkcaldy, &c.: a commissioner of the treasury.

1757. Saturday noon went about pressing men into the service, — without success, indeed; but there was no doubt in those who refused my offers of my being fixed in the situation that enabled me to make them. I must add, that from Thursday, when the King was not only firm but cheerful, till Saturday, when I followed Lord Mansfield into the closet, I did not see or send message to the King; so that he was infected with no fears of mine.

Nor could the execution of the business have been set about with more haste or alacrity than it was. Yet I do not blame his Majesty; for when the Duke of Newcastle showed he could draw so many into so infamous a measure, the game was lost, and his Majesty and the country deprived (I will say so, though I was to have had so large a share in it) of as able, as honest, and as firm a ministry, as this nation and these times could furnish. I would not for the world accuse myself of having had any share in the defeat of such a system; and, next to thinking so myself, should be made most miserable by your Grace's imputing it in any degree to him who honours your Grace above all men, and who is with unalterable attachment your Grace's, &c.

H. Fox.

P. S.—I know your Grace will have company to-morrow who will tell your Grace more, and give a more perfect account of what passes than I can do.

1757.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF KILDARE.

Woburn Abbey, June 16. 1757.

My Lord,

I am just now honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 9th instant at this place; and yesterday Mr. Rigby communicated to me your letter to Mr. Fox, which he had sent down to him hither for my inspection.

I am much surprised and concerned to find your Lordship so uneasy about a thing which, when stated in its true light, cannot possibly put either the Lords Justices of Ireland or myself (who am equally implicated in it with your Excellencies) under the disagreeable circumstances you imagine. For though the King's first letter was never sent to the Treasury, yet the notoriety of its existence was so great, both in England and Ireland (of which I have convincing proofs, by its having been mentioned to me by many persons to whom I had never communicated it), that the recital and revocation of it, in the second letter, cannot make it a jot more public. And indeed, considering this notoriety, it was necessary, and I was advised by those conversant in the business of Ireland to cause it to be drawn up in this manner, and to explain it to the King as a revocation of the first letter. Besides, the reasons given me by the Lords Justices for not making use of the money allotted for granting bounties on the importation of corn were so cogent, that I directed my secretary to write it as my

1757. opinion, that the money designed for bounties should not be made use of but on the utmost emergencies. The situation of affairs in Ireland being such that this money could not, with any utility to the public, be made use of, and the distress occasioned by the want of corn in the North continuing, I, at my own risk, caused some cargoes of oats and barley to be bought, and to be shipped for Belfast and Londonderry; but finding it impossible for me as a private man to undertake an affair of so great risk and expense as would be adequate to supplying the wants in the northern counties, I was necessitated to apply to his Majesty for his most gracious assistance, to relieve by the money in the Treasury the distresses of his subjects; and I can assure your Lordship I am at present at least 5000*l.* out of pocket, and am still proceeding to get up more corn to send to Ireland. I must therefore, in order to enable me to proceed in what I have undertaken, desire that the King's letters may be immediately sent to the Treasury, and am very willing to take upon myself my share of any animadversions ill-natured people may be desirous of casting upon me; well content with knowing that I have done my duty to the King and the public,—which reasoning, I think, will equally hold with regard to your Lordship.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

P. S.—I must add one more argument in this

postscript. Can it be advisable for your Lordship to apprise the Board of Treasury which is now forming (and which, by-the-by, I do not believe will be a very friendly one either to your Lordship or me) of your apprehensions of clamour by entering the King's first letter, and designing a third to be sent, in which no mention shall be made of either of the former ones? 1757.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Leicester Fields, June 18. 1757.

My dear Lord,

I was this morning at the King's levee to pick up what news I could to send your Grace, and the first thing I heard did not more astonish me than it will you: Lord Halifax had been with the King and resigned his employment.* This very person, whose first refusal last week to join with our wishes was one of the principal causes of our failing, to-day, when Mr. Pitt was to be with his Majesty, is the only one to throw up. I had a great deal of discourse with him, and in my life *never abused*, nor heard any body more abuse another, than he did the Duke of Newcastle. His

* "Lord Halifax, who demanded to be Secretary of State for the West Indies, a theatre on which Pitt meditated to shine himself, threw up on being refused; but having outlived his income, was forced to re-accept what, unless he had persisted, he had done more wisely to retain." — *Walpole Memoirs*, ii. 227.

1757. point, that he says his Grace promised him over and over, was Secretary of State for America; which it seems, in the present arrangement of things, he was not only not to have, but his office to be lopped also of those valuable *agrémens* which your Grace and I are of opinion should never have been taken from the Secretary of State of the Southern Province. But what makes this matter more curious is, that when he came out from the King, with whom he was about ten minutes giving his reasons for his resignation, he met Mr. Pitt, who told him the Duke of Newcastle had never agitated this matter for him. He did not, indeed, say he should have given way, but assured him it had never come in contest between them. Nay it appears since, the Duke of Devonshire was so well prepared to part with this bosom friend of his, that my Lord Hardwicke this very morning has named my Lord Dupplin to the King for his successor, and he will have his place. My Lord Gower, who dines with you to-morrow, as does the Duke of Marlborough, invited Halifax to do the same in his way to Horton to-morrow, and he means to do so. He will tell you enough of the Duke of Newcastle's villany, but he will not tell you how much less he deserves ill-usage from him after having betrayed all Fox's confidence to him for a week together. So much for the only resigner in question.

And now, my Lord, as I understand from the Duke of Devonshire, to whom Lord Hardwicke

had communicated the contents of a long audience, things remained settled thus:— 1757.

Duke of Newcastle - -	Treasury.
Pitt - - - -	Secretary.
Holdernesse - - -	Ditto.
Fox - - - -	Paymaster.
Anson - - -	Admiralty.
Dorset, or Rochford - -	Pensioned.

Temple, as put down in the paper showed to the King, —— a place.

Ellis, though he has been pushed at, is to remain where he is. Potter is to have Lord Cholmondeley's place, who is to be pensioned. Lord Thomond is to have Lord Bateman's stick, who is to have Jennison's buckhounds; and Jennison, if he does not die, a pension. Barrington is to remain; and Lord George Sackville nothing. I think, that that last being the case, if the Duke of Dorset is to be pensioned, his lordship has not made much of his politics this winter. The Duke of Newcastle gives up Stanley, and Lord Temple's Board of Admiralty comes in under Lord Anson. I have heard no determination yet about our Board, except as to Dupplin. Now a word concerning the Townshends, who were (both brothers) this morning with Mr. Pitt. He told them how matters were settled; that he was going to the King; asked George Townshend if he might name him to his Majesty for any employment, and hoped things had his approbation. His answer was, that he would take nothing; that he had a

1757. *friend or two*, by whom he would make his sentiments known to his Majesty; that he had not been consulted till it was too late; that he had neither approbation or disapprobation, or any thing left but admiration. And then, turning to Charles, the new Secretary said he hoped he might mention him again for Treasurer of the Chambers. He replied, that he already was Treasurer of the Chambers; that he had no thoughts at this time of resigning that employment; but that he should not go to court on Monday with the new administration, but retire into Norfolk to-morrow with his brother. George approved of his language, and they left Mr. Pitt equally dissatisfied. Lord Anson's promotion it is has made these shuttlecocks play so ill, I am told. Legge, it was reported to-day, was not to be Chancellor of the Exchequer; but that is not so: he is to have it, and George Grenville his old place. Pitt was half an hour with the King, and Lord Hardwicke longer; he has been the negotiator. Neither the Duke of Newcastle nor Pitt would trust Lord Mansfield, who was in the highest spirits to-day at dinner at Doddington's, and toasted your Grace. Mr. Mackenzie is talked of for Treasurer to the Princess in the room of Sir George Lee, who seems to have chosen as judicious a time for a resignation as Lord Halifax.*

* "Sir George Lee, who resigned his treasurership to the Princess against Mr. Pitt, and, as the world says, wanting to bring Lord Bute into Doctors' Commons, is succeeded by Lord Bute's brother, Mr. Kinsey.[a]"—*Walpole Letters*, vol. iii. p. 298.

[a] Mr. Stuart Mackenzie.

Thus things are for the present fixed. It has been rumoured that Lord Granville was to be turned out for Lord Hardwicke; but that is only rumour. 1757.

There has been no thoughts of attacking your Grace, or the Duke of Marlborough, or Lord Gower; on the contrary, I am much mistaken if you have not both sides paying court to you. They are as jealous, and at bottom as much at enmity as ever, and will be striving which shall outdo the other in the means of your future friendship, which, if you manage to the best advantage, as I make no doubt but you will do, you will have it in your power to do whatever you shall think proper.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Arthur's, four o'clock, June 24. 1757.

The Duke of Bridgewater assures Lord Gower and me that Pitt absolutely refuses going any further, if Lord Anson is put at the head of the Admiralty; and this, he says, he knows to be authentic. And that, moreover, Pitt insists upon Lord Holdernesse being turned out, and Halifax having his place, and then Oswald will go to the Treasury. The young Dux is positive to the truth of this intelligence. I think it corresponds with the flummery to me at Kensington; but I should not trouble you with it if it did not correspond also with a piece of secret intelligence I had this minute from Sir

1757. Robert Wilmot, whose sister that lives with him is an intimate friend of Mrs. Legge's, who last night wished herself and her friends quiet in the country, and well out of the way of the very bad scrape they had been drawn into. They have, besides the above, been at Newcastle House this morning all together by the ears about the disposal of the Great Seal, and parted quite undetermined what to do with it. I own, from all these circumstances I cannot help thinking it very likely to break all to pieces again.

Lord Waldegrave is here, and I think seems much pleased with the news the Duke of Devonshire had sent him of the ribband.* Egremont, he tells me, is furious against the Duke of Newcastle; but Lord Thomond † will accept of the white staff, having no objection to being a servant of *the King's*, as he has wrote the Duke of Newcastle word.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Leicester Fields, June 28. 1757.

Count Offley ‡ has at last led up the political dance, and the only person that has kissed hands to-day for Groom of the Bedchamber. To-morrow

* "The King gave the garter to Lord Waldegrave,—an almost unprecedented favour, as it was given alone; but he deserved it."—*Walpole Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 227.

† "Lord Thomond had Lord Bateman's white stick, who, the Duke of Newcastle said, arrogantly enough, should not carry his messages."—*Walpole Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 225.

‡ John Offley, Esq., member of parliament for the borough of Orford.

a great scene opens, and Lord Gower is to be Master of the Horse, Mr. Fox Paymaster, the Duke of Newcastle takes the Treasury, &c. &c. as it was settled. Mr. Pitt takes his seals on Thursday, and Sir Robert Henley the Great Seal on the same day, with Pratt for Attorney; and the law arrangements, like the other, fixed in the manner we talked them over at Woburn. 1757.

Lord Halifax, I hear, is desirous to return, being a Cabinet Councillor; but that I do not hear is adjusted. Both Houses are adjourned to Friday; but whether that day or Tuesday next will put an end to the session, I cannot tell. I rather think some hitch or other will postpone it till the latter day. I did not stay the passing of the bills, nor the House of Commons' rising, being to dine early at Holland House; but I hear young Mr. Vyner* in the House of Commons chose to abuse the Hanoverians for cowardice, with some insinuations not very favourable to H. R. H. What he says does not signify much; but what your Grace will have read in the newspapers upon that subject is not more false. I saw a letter from the Duke to Mr. Fox; he writes in extreme good spirits, and does not despair keeping the French at bay. I believe the fair truth is, that in the retreat over the river there was rather more confusion than was to be expected or wished from such brave troops; but that is the worst of it. The King at his levee to-day

* Robert Vyner, jun., Esq., member of parliament for the borough of Oakhampton.

1757. expressed his impatience for the next mail, but declared he liked the news yesterday very well.

A Chapter of the Garter is summoned for Thursday, when Lord Waldegrave is to be invested. I hear Mr. Pitt or his friends say it is hitting them a slap in the face at the first outset, and a bad omen for their administration. The Duke of Newcastle and his friends, though they like it no better, are, however, silent upon it. I was told today, as a great secret, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke had quarrelled violently upon the disposal of the Great Seal, and proceeded to coarse language with each other. It is no secret that his Grace and Mr. Pitt are for ever at variance and distrust with each other. Pitt found there was a lie between his Grace and Legge, and brought them face to face to find it out; and when Legge's superior cunning had lodged it upon the Duke, he frankly confessed he believed it was his *mistake*. Pitt accordingly never parts with him without recapitulating all that has passed, and begging he will make none of his mistakes. Mr. Pitt's friends, for instance Cook* of Middlesex and such, are made to believe that he has engaged none of the million vote of credit shall be applied to the army of observation on the Continent, or for the King of Prussia, or any other Continent purposes, and they are such fools as to be glad to believe it. Mr. Pitt's

* George Cooke, Esq., member for Middlesex, chief prothonotary in the Court of Common Pleas, and in 1766 joint Paymaster-General with Mr. Pitt.

seat in Parliament, it seems, is not vacated, as nobody was appointed to succeed, and Potter* comes in for Bath. 1757.

People in the city are uneasy for Admiral Holbourne. It is imagined that the French fleet that took the Greenwich man-of-war in the West Indies is gone to the northward to Cape Breton; and if they meet the fleet that sailed some time ago for Brest, they will be together a good deal superior to Holbourne.

Lord Cholmondeley talked a great deal of nonsense to me at the levee about his pension†; but as he means to write it to your Grace, I leave it to you to construe. I can recollect nothing more; but if anything arises, I shall send you instant intelligence.

Lord Ilchester told me at dinner an excellent character, a Lady Doneraile‡ had told him, she heard of my Lord Lieutenant and his secretary. His Grace was the honestest and best man, but an *ipse-dixit* man, which she did not think he was the worse for; and his secretary was a good four-bottle man.

If I can but keep up my character as well as your Grace will yours, I don't know if I may not come away as popular. My best compliments to

* Right Honourable Thomas Potter, one of the Vice-Treasurers for Ireland.

† "Lord Cholmondeley got a pension to make way for Potter."—*Walpole Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 225.

‡ Elizabeth, eldest daughter and co-heir to Joseph Deane, Esq., Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and wife of Hayes, fourth Viscount Doneraile, in the Peerage of Ireland.

1757. the Duchess and the Misses. I sent their letters to poor Lady Halkelton, who was married on Saturday, and has been in tears ever since.

Past eleven o'clock.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Leicester Fields, three o'clock,
June 29. 1757.

I am this minute come from court, where I saw the enclosed list of persons* all kiss hands; so that nothing remains for to-morrow but the law. The levee to-day was more curious even than the last your Grace was present at. Lord Winchelsea's salutation to Lord Anson was, that he was at his service to protect him whenever he should find it necessary against his own board; that he thought him now in a much worse situation than when he was left in the island of Tinian; and that had it been his case to have been left on that island, even there he would not have kept such company as his Lordship was now going into.

* A list of the Administration who kissed the King's hand, 29th June, 1757: —
Duke of Newcastle.
Lord Temple.
Lord Gower.
Lord Anson—with Lord Temple's whole board, Admiral Forbes and all.
Mr. Pitt.
Potter.
Fox.
Sir Harry Eustace—for Offley's place.
Legge.

Lord Gower tells me the King was very civil to him. His successor was not in the closet long enough for the door to be shut; and Legge as short a time for his seals. I have a notion his Majesty spoke a little of his mind to Lord Mansfield, for he was a full half hour with him; Pitt about five minutes. The good Duke of Newcastle has been again assuring me, for your Grace's belief, that you shall find every thing at the Treasury as you can wish, and begs me to be the mediator for your friendship and protection for him. Lord Anson, too, hardly in his office before he begged I would give him timely notice of your Grace's going to Ireland, that he may have a proper convoy ready for you. I never saw more marked coldness in my life than to-day between the two Law Lords; and I am sure the time will come when Mansfield will show to the other's cost the difference between them in the House of Lords. I hope your Grace and I shall both be present. No fresh news from the Duke. But Colloredo* is going away without taking leave; so the port of Ostend will swarm immediately with French privateers, and be shut up from any further correspondence with us. More work for the new Admiralty. Add to which, the King of Prussia begins to be much dissatisfied that we have no naval force in the Baltic for his protection; and Michel† has been forced for these six weeks past to keep him quiet by writing him 1757.

* Austrian minister at London.

† British minister at the court of Berlin.

1757. word that there was no ministry yet fixed, or we should send some ships there; but, as far as I can hear, we have none to send.

Potter told me at court he should wait upon your Grace, and beg your assistance at Okehampton, as it is now again fixed for Pitt at Bath, and he takes a nominal place to vacate. The Parliament is not to be up till Tuesday; the only quarrel, the Duke of Newcastle assured me, there was between the Duke of Devonshire and him. I am to dine with the latter Duke at Holland House. If I should hear any thing more, I will send you another letter; but as the post goes out early this evening, I chose not to defer telling you how far this happy country is gone in its progress towards everlasting peace and quiet.

I am, &c. &c.

I find it is expected that the Russian minister will also be recalled very speedily.

Nothing done about Halifax, who, I hear, is gone to Horton.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Leicester Fields, July 2. 1757.

My dear Lord,

Having despatched my Irish business in the other packet, there remains very little of intelligence to send your Grace from here. The

news I wrote you from Devonshire House you will see an account of published in to-night's Gazette, and it will be Michel's own account. I have seen it this morning, and very bad indeed it is; but there is a circumstance in it more than will be published, which is, that the Austrians made a sally upon the the rear of Marshal Keith's corps, and cut off a good number of men. This bad news, I hear, has stunned the new administration not a little; and had it arrived four or five days sooner, I verily believe they would not have accepted. 1757.

What I wrote your Grace from the Duke of Newcastle about Jennison's pension I had yesterday from good authority was altered, and they intend to provide for him in some other shape.

Fox's election at Windsor is very doubtful. There is a Jacobite subscription of 5000*l.* raised against him, with Sir James Dashwood's name at the head of it. The Beauclerck interest has joined it, and I am in the greatest fear for him; at all events it must cost him a vast deal of money.

Lord-Keeper Henley took his seat upon the woolsack yesterday, and poor Lord Sandys remains upon the *pavé*. The Duke of Devonshire is very angry at it; but he will tell your Grace all that has passed concerning it himself on Monday night at Wobourn. He told me yesterday he should not be of their conciliabulum. Of whom that august meeting is to consist his Grace will also inform you. I am very glad to find by your Grace's letter that Lord Kildare has acted so sensibly with relation to the

1757. King's letter, and hope you will approve of what I have done to-day in consequence of it. I must prepare your Grace against a troublesome visitor, who may perhaps call upon you at Woburn; it is a Mrs. Humphrey, housekeeper of Dublin Castle, a termagant brimstone, that has been with me this morning, abusing all the lord-lieutenants that have been these twenty years for not paying her what I dare say is a very unreasonable demand; but I will not trouble you with a detail of that till she send you her petition. She talked of calling upon you only to desire your Grace would immediately order her an apartment in the Castle, which is part of her complaint, — that no lord-lieutenant would ever yet give her one that she thinks good enough for herself. I advised her to postpone her complaints till your Grace's arrival in Ireland; but whether she will or not she would not tell me.

Seven o'clock in the afternoon, Saturday.

I have this moment heard things look worse and worse at Windsor *; and, what is worst of all, Mr. Fox was taken very ill there last night, forced to be blooded and go to bed.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

* "We carried the election 137 to 86." — Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Bedford.

1757.

EARL OF CLANBRASSILL* TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Dundalk, July 17. 1757.

My Lord,

Your Grace's disposition to promote the true interest of this country is so well known, that it encourages me to trouble you upon a subject that appears to me of importance to it.

That the Papists in Ireland are zealously attached to the cause of the Pretender is but too manifest, and that this zeal is fed and cherished by their priests is as notorious. As these men lie under the severest penalties for every exercise of their function, they look on themselves as proscribed by the legislature; and though the lenity of the administration indulges them, contrary to law, to exercise their functions openly in every parish in Ireland, they do not think this arises from a principle of humanity, but from the necessity of not driving three fourths of the people into despair. Thus they trust to their numbers for security, and think that the more formidable they make themselves the better chance they shall have for the continuance of this connivance. Now, my Lord, I cannot but think it is highly advisable to attempt to dissolve this close connection between Popery and Jacobitism, and that the most probable method to

* James Hamilton, Earl of Clanbrassill; so created November 1756. He established a cambric manufacture in the town of Dundalk.

1757. this effect would be to take their priests under the protection of the government, and oblige them in order to obtain that protection to give security for their good behaviour. One advantage would immediately flow from this plan;—the persons, the number, and the place of abode of all the priests in Ireland would be publicly known, which would be a great check upon them; and when they have tasted the comfort of a legal protection, which would give them a kind of property in their parishes, they will be ready enough to give private informations against the itinerant friars (those restless emissaries of France and the Pretender) who swarm in this country, and devour many little emoluments that would otherwise fall to the share of the parish priests. And I make no doubt but that the Irish *parish* priests, finding themselves thus indulged, would in time be as good subjects to the King of Great Britain, as the German priests in the Electorate are to the Elector of Hanover.

This train of thinking put me on framing the heads of a bill, of which I send your Grace a copy. I proposed one of the same nature, but something different from this, in the last session of Parliament. A considerable majority of the lay lords approved of it; but all the bishops, except three, opposed the carrying of it into execution at that juncture. I am inclined to acquit most of them of malice, and to impute it to ignorance of the genius of the Protestant religion, and of the nature of men and of government. One of them

was candid enough to own that it had taken him unprepared, and that he did not understand it. Thus after the heads of the bill had been read three times in our House, they put it off to a long day by a majority of two only. This has not discouraged me from bringing it in again in the approaching session, after having altered some things to which one prelate made plausible objections. And I take the liberty of laying it thus early before your Grace, that you may have an opportunity of considering it thoroughly; which, if you have leisure to do, I hope it will be honoured with you protection. 1757.

I send under another cover the copy of a placard I have lately received from Holland, by which your Grace will see that the regulations made in that country bear an analogy to those proposed in my plan. I also take the liberty of sending two schemes I published some time ago. One was intended to restore paper credit, which is now reduced almost to nothing in this country; the other was for establishing granaries in Dublin, without any further expense to the public than that of building the store-houses.

I ask pardon for thus obtruding my conceptions upon your Grace; nothing could have induced me to it but an earnest desire to be of some use to my King and country. And I beg leave to assure your Grace, that I shall think myself happy if I can in any degree contribute towards making your administration easy and honourable. I am, &c.

CLANBRASSILL.

1757.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF CLANBRASSILL.

Woburn Abbey, August 4. 1757.

My Lord,

I have deferred till this time the acknowledging the honour of the receipt of your Lordship's letter, in order that I might make myself thoroughly master of the sketch your Lordship has sent me for heads of a bill, which you propose to bring into the House of Lords of Ireland at the approaching session.

I thing myself fortunate in finding that our sentiments with regard to persecution and toleration do so exactly tally; and I think your Lordship will do signal service to your country, and gain great honour to yourself, by carrying into execution a plan which, consistent with the laws of religion and humanity, may make the Papists of Ireland good subjects to the King, and useful members of the commonwealth.

The only doubt which remains with me necessary to be cleared up is, whether the Romish priests can in conscience take the oaths directed to be administered to them by this projected bill, without some further modifications in conformity to the method followed in the placard set forth in the States of Holland; for I fear it might be attended with very fatal consequences should a number of priests, sufficient to supply the several Popish curés in Ireland, be wanting upon account of scruples to

taking the oath, by which the Papists might be driven to despair. 1757.

I flatter myself that your Lordship will believe that the difficulty I now state is in no sort meant against the bill itself, the spirit of which in my own judgment I entirely approve; though I am not as yet authorised by his Majesty to say any thing upon it, not having as yet had an opportunity of mentioning it to him.

I think myself infinitely obliged to your Lordship for the kind assurance of your wishing well to my administration in Ireland, and I shall endeavour to merit the continuance of your countenance and assistance.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. PITT.

Woburn Abbey, September 1. 1757.

Sir,

I think it my duty to apprise you for his Majesty's information, and in order that I may receive instructions how to act in an affair of this delicate nature, of a very extraordinary riot that happened on Tuesday last in the eastern division of this county, upon a meeting appointed that day at Biggleswade for choosing by lot the militia men which are to be furnished by the three hundreds of

1757. Clifton, Wixamtree, and Biggleswade. The account of it I received yesterday on the road, by a letter from Sir Roger Burgoyne, one of the gentlemen acting for that division, which letter I immediately despatched to the Secretary at War, in order that troops might be forthwith sent to be aiding and assisting to the civil magistrate if necessary; but not having any opportunity of taking a copy of it, and having only read it once cursorily, I cannot possibly give you the particulars of the riot, but must refer you for that to the letter now in the Secretary at War's hands.

What I can recollect of the letter is this, that on the day of meeting Sir Roger Burgoyne and Colonel Lee, the only two gentlemen there present, were informed by some of the constables that they had passed a mob of 1000 persons, who were coming to Biggleswade to murder the gentlemen, and prevent the lots for militia men being drawn, upon which these two gentlemen thought proper to retire; soon after which the mob arrived at Biggleswade, and in a tumultuous manner demanded of the master of the house the tickets on which the men's names were wrote, which being refused them, they went to Sir Roger Burgoyne's house (who with his wife and family were obliged to fly to Baldock for refuge), demanding money and drink, and threatening to pull down the house; from thence they went in the same manner to Mr. Astell's at Everdon in Huntingdonshire, but on the very edge of this county; and after having done the same in other places,

they returned to the inn at Biggleswade, took away the tickets from the landlord, and broke all his windows. 1757.

I have since heard that, after all these exploits, they have returned quietly to their parishes; but I think it my duty to represent, for the consideration of his Majesty and those of his servants he shall please to refer it to, the dangerous consequences that may attend the taking no notice of this affair, not only towards the carrying the militia act into execution, but to the bad example the suffering a giddy and riotous populace to stand in opposition to an act of parliament unnoticed may have upon the rest of the kingdom.

I must, however, in justice to the rest and far the greatest part of this county, observe to you, that though the raising the militia in the manner chalked out by the present bill seems unpalatable to many, yet I have not in any part of it where I have been observed the least disposition to riot or disloyalty.

I must likewise observe, that the meeting on Tuesday last for the three eastern hundreds was just a week later than those for the other hundreds of the county, which were held without any obstruction on the preceding Tuesday, and was owing to some gentlemen that had engaged to come on that day forgetting their appointment, and others not being able to be found till the day was too far advanced to finish the business. There was one thing observable then, and which seemed to point out the gentlemen then present to draw the lots

1757. immediately; and that was, the petty constables absolutely refused to draw them, as they said if they did, they should subject themselves to be knocked on the head on their return to their respective parishes.

Since my beginning this letter, I have received an account from the Secretary at War, that two troops of horse guards now quartered at Uxbridge and Hillingdon are ordered to Biggleswade.*

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Newcastle House, October 3. 1757.

My Lord,

The King has commanded me to write to your Grace in the greatest confidence, upon an affair on which his Majesty is desirous to know as soon as possible your Grace's thoughts. Your Grace is acquainted with the very unhappy situation

* This letter relates to the disturbances that took place on the new militia bill. Mr. Potter, who then resided at Ridgmount in Bedfordshire, now the property of the Duke of Bedford, thus writes to Mr. Pitt: — "The Duke of Bedford has acted as became him, and has shown a great spirit and activity, joined to great prudence and consideration. On Friday last he met the deputy lieutenants and magistrates at Bedford: great apprehensions were entertained by the timid of the violence to be committed that day; and there were found men of rank who confined themselves to their houses, lest by coming to the meeting they should be the objects of resentment."—*Chatham Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 260.

of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, drove from his own country by the French, which country has been and is possessed by the French. This greatly increases the distressed situation which her Royal Highness the Princess of Hesse, the King's daughter, and the princes her children, are in. Her Royal Highness has, in the most dutiful manner, applied to the King for his Majesty's protection and support, and that he would of his great goodness make some separate allowance for her and the princes her children in the Irish establishment. The King is sensible how much that establishment is loaded, and is therefore very unwilling to lay any further encumbrance upon it. His Majesty is at the same time, from his paternal affection, very desirous to assist his royal daughter, if there was an opportunity of doing it. No permanent provision, your Grace knows, can be made upon the civil list of England; the King would therefore be glad to know your Grace's opinion, whether a pension of six thousand pounds per annum, for the life of her Royal Highness the Princess of Hesse, and for her children afterwards, till they or any of them shall succeed to the landgravate of Hesse Cassel, might be granted on the Irish establishment, without prejudice to his Majesty's service in that kingdom; and in that case, the King would leave entirely to your Grace the time and manner of doing it, and the carrying it or not into execution, till the business of your session shall be over. The King is thoroughly persuaded that your Grace's zeal for his service, and 1757.

1757. regard for his royal family are such, that if you find this can be done without great inconvenience, your Grace will be glad to concert the carrying these his Majesty's wishes into execution. I hope soon to hear of your Grace's safe arrival in Ireland; and am, &c. &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Dublin Castle, October 13. 1757.

My Lord,

I am honoured with your Grace's letter of the 3d instant, with his Majesty's commands to report my opinion whether a pension of 6000*l.* a year for the life of H. R. H. the Princess of Hesse Cassel, and afterwards for the princes her children till they or any of them shall succeed to the landgravate of Hesse Cassel, might be granted on the Irish establishment without prejudice to his Majesty's service in that kingdom. As it will very little become me to suggest difficulties that may in any degree operate towards restraining his Majesty's liberality, more especially in this case, where his royal daughter and her children are so essentially concerned, I shall presume to do no more than to lay before your Grace for his Majesty's information the present state of the pension list, compared with what it was at the King's accession to the throne,

as likewise the increase on the whole charge of the civil establishment of Ireland from that period to the present year. The pension list, as made up at midsummer, 1727, amounted but to 37,994*l.* 10*s.*; whereas the present annual charge amounts to 55,253*l.* 15*s.*, and makes an increase of 17,259*l.* 5*s.* per annum. But it is right to observe in this place, that by deaths of the French pensioners since 1727 a reduction of 11,240*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* is made in the pensions formerly granted them by the crown, and that 624*l.*, part of a sum formerly granted by Queen Anne to the Palatines, and at that time a charge upon the establishment, is now entirely ceased, by which means the gross list of pensions doth not exceed what it was in 1727 but a little more than 5000*l.* per annum. Upon comparing the whole civil establishment as it is at present, viz. 92,293*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.*, with what it was in 1727, viz. 80,346*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.*, the increase will be 11,947*l.* 7*s.* per annum, occasioned by the additional salaries that have been given to the judges, &c., and some other incidental charges. Besides the concordatum fund of 5000*l.* does never near answer the demand upon it, and the deficiency is constantly made up out of the ordinary revenue. Having as succinctly as possible laid before your Grace for his Majesty's information the exact state of the civil establishment of Ireland, and the increase of it within these last thirty years, I have only to add now, that I fear the revenue is at least in an equal degree decreasing, both customs and excise necessarily sinking during a time of war. 1757.

1757. When his Majesty shall have considered the present state of this country, which I think the duty of my place obliges me to lay thus fully before him, he will be the best judge how well it can bear a farther drain of 6000*l.* per annum, and whether the pension list will not be rather overloaded by this additional charge upon it, especially as I fear it will be unavoidably necessary, in order to carry on with smoothness his Majesty's business here, to give occasionally some small pensions to those whose indigent circumstances make it necessary for them to ask, and whose connection with considerable persons here make it difficult for me to refuse. However, I can with great truth assure his Majesty that I will not, unless I find it absolutely necessary for his service, apply to him for pensions on this establishment whilst the list shall continue so overloaded.

I have thus, in discharge of my duty, laid before the King my thoughts on the point on which his Majesty has ordered me to give my opinion, humbly submitting it to him, that in case the Parliament of Great Britain could be prevailed on to grant 6000*l.* per annum to H. R. H. the Princess of Hesse for her life and of the princes her children (which I think ought to be done, considering the landgrave is drove out on account of his alliance with Great Britain), it would be a much more desirable way than the taking it from this establishment; but as I must leave that to his Majesty's superior wisdom, and the conduct of his ministers on your side the water, I have only to add, that in case the King shall think

proper to have the 6000*l.* taken out out of this establishment, I will use my utmost endeavours to make it as little unpalatable to the nation here as possible, and by the utmost frugality of the public revenue strive to make it able to bear this additional weight upon it. 1757.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Holland House, Wednesday, Oct. 12. 1757.

My dear Lord,

I will begin by a message to your Grace just given me by the Duke.* H. R. H. bids me tell your Grace, that he can justify himself in every respect of honour to the entire satisfaction of your Grace, who are so nice and so good a judge of it; and that he always intended to let your Grace know so much as soon as he arrived, lest the usage he meets with, and the reports that are spread, should (though he flatters himself nothing could) stagger your good opinion of him, on which he sets the highest value. I am now to tell your Grace all that has passed since he arrived. I went to

* The Duke of Cumberland, after the convention of Closter-Seven, returned at once to England. For an account of the treatment he met with from the King, see *Walpole's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 247.

1757. him as soon as he arrived last night, to give him information (of which I had collected all I could). He came into the room to Windham, Napier, Sir E. Fawkner, and myself. When I kissed his hand, he said, "You see me as well as ever I was in my life, both in body and in mind." I said I had heard with great pleasure that he had quite recovered his health, but I feared I should not have seen him well in mind. "You have always mistaken me, Mr. Fox. With respect to the King, I am perfectly easy; I have the King's orders in writing for what I have done, and I have done better for him than I thought the exigency would have allowed of." He then dressed while we stood by; and then talked military to Napier, till the King came to the Princesses, when he went to his Majesty. This morning early H. R. H. sent for me, and told me he saw I came last night to speak to him, for which he thanked me; but that he was resolved to see no man alone, or hear anybody's opinion, till he had seen the King, and taken his step. He saw H. M. for a few minutes, when he left us. His reception was bad (of which he entered into no particulars).* He then went to the card-playing, and after the King retired desired Lady Yarmouth, in the most respectful and most submissive manner, to let the King know that he had it not in his power to serve H. M. any longer, and that he

* Walpole tells us that the King, when playing at cards, said aloud, "Here is my son, who has ruined me, and disgraced himself."

had no favour left to ask, but leave to quit. Lady Yarmouth desired him to take no resolution. He answered, that his resolution was not now to take; he had had time to reflect on his own conduct, which was irreproachable, and on the impossibility of his showing due regard to his own honour by any other method than what he now pursued. She asked him if he was determined? He said, yes; and that he only spoke to her as the person who could with most ease and least offence let the King know it. I told H. R. H. that your Grace expressed your dread of this step, and that it was likewise the Duke of Devonshire's and Lord Waldegrave's opinion that it would add greatly to the distress and danger of this country, already in a deplorable situation. He said a point of honour was in question, on which nobody should ask advice. His submission, his duty, his regard to the King, were without bounds on any other subject; but, dear as the King was to him, his own honour was dearer to him even than the King. He is not only in temper, but cheerful, and at ease to such a degree as I have seldom known him. He is a little vexed, he says, to be obliged, as he must own himself to be, to Mr. Pitt for his very honourable behaviour on this occasion. The King sent Munckhausen (who, by the way, must be mad, for he has treated the convention to the whole world, and even General Napier, as *infâme*, *indigne*, *lâche*, &c.). The King sent this Munckhausen to the *conciliabulum*, to show the letters which were to prove that H. R. H. had acted without orders, and 1757.

1757. these letters proved the contrary to the conviction of every minister present. "I must," says Pitt, "as a man of honour and a gentleman, allow every where that H. R. H. had full powers to do what he has done." Your Grace knows that before this H. M. wrote a cruel letter to the Duke, and had it translated into French, and shown to every foreign minister, and disclaimed the treaty to the King of Prussia in particular, and I believe to almost every court in Europe. H. R. H. this morning showed me the King's letters, which are not full powers only, but directions to prevent the army from becoming prisoners of war at any rate, and to sign a treaty for that purpose if necessary, without waiting for any formality, or further directions from hence whatever; and Munckhausen told M. D'Abreu* the amount of this treaty, as what would be concluded, four days before it came. But now I will tell your Grace what I take to be the cause of all this anger. Steinburg, by the King's order, sent the King of Prussia word that he was treating. The King of Prussia represented immediately against it, and strongly here. The English ministers, who knew nothing of this negotiation, pressed Michel's memorial. H. M. said his hands were tied as elector, and gave that answer which your Grace has seen in the papers signed by Lord Holdernesse, and dated September the 16th. Whether by their arguments, or promises what

* Spanish minister to the court of St. James.

they would do for the electorate if the elector did not treat, the English ministers brought his Majesty to wish that no treaty might be concluded, and on the 16th he wrote to that effect. But on the 17th the convention comes. His Majesty in a rage would have persuaded everybody, and himself too, that it was neither necessary, nor by his authority; disclaims the treaty, and disclaims his son, and that in such opprobrious terms as are beyond belief, as well as beyond excuse. Let me add, that the Duke and all his officers say that Staadt was not tenable for a day. The army could not be in the place, and whenever M. Richelieu should attack the lines he must conquer. 1757.

The Duke of Devonshire is just come hither from court. The King has sent his cabinet council to make their bows to the Duke. H. R. H. was remarkably civil to Pitt, and very properly took no notice of Holdernesse. His Majesty, upon receiving the Duke's message, bid Lady Yarmouth send the Duke of Devonshire to him; but his Grace did not get to court time enough to see the King to-day. Lady Yarmouth conjured his Grace to try to alter the Duke's determination; but the Duke told him that he could not ask, or even advise the King to what would be necessary to clear his reputation (I suppose he means contradicting himself to every court in Europe), and therefore he must take the only step that was in his own power to clear it. The Duke of Devonshire sees him to-morrow morning again, and then the King. Your Grace shall by

1757. the post know the result. The Duke does not know my opinion; he has been so kind as not to ask it. But to your Grace I will own that from the moment I knew his Majesty had disavowed the Duke publicly, I thought this the only step H. R. H. had to take. If this country is to be fought for here, H. R. H. may and will come from Windsor to command. Sir John Mordaunt* is in an ugly scrape; his Majesty and his ministers are equally and excessively angry with him. Vernon will bring your Grace a pamphlet, all of which I believe is true, except that there were such batteries as those as are there mentioned. Sir John Mordaunt says they know nothing of what was on the shore. The delays from the 23rd to the 29th,—the embarking them in boats to land, and laying all thoughts of landing aside afterwards, give room for questions that can never all be answered. Bad news, too, from America. Indeed, my Lord, we seem so pushed and so disgraced on every side, that I cannot guess how we shall extricate ourselves.

Pitt is sole minister (and I am glad of it), not by having gained the King, but by the entire submission of Lord Hardwicke and the Duke of Newcastle to him. I hear he is determined to push the King of Prussia's cause to the utmost, and not to talk of what war shall cost next year. I am very much obliged by your Grace's goodness. I think I barely asked it, and at a great distance, when I thought it

* Commander of the expedition against Rochfort.

would please the Duke of Bolton; but if your Grace has any reason for thinking that to prefer Doyne will please the Marquis of Winchester, I really hope your Grace will never do it. 1757.

Give me leave to beg my best respects to all within the castle. I shall have little time to write either to Lord Digby or to Rigby. Be so good as to impart to them as much of the news I send your Grace as you think proper.

I am, &c.

H. Fox.

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Devonshire House, Oct. 15. 1757.

My Lord,

I have received a letter from Lord Tullamore *, desiring me to mention to your Grace what passed between him and me relative to an earldom, and I hope your Grace will excuse me troubling you on this account. His lordship applied to me to make him an earl. I told him it was usual they should rise regularly, and offered to recommend him to be a viscount two years ago; he declined it, but desired I would upon a future occasion endeavour to get him made an earl, which I gave him reason to hope for. When your Grace was made lord-lieutenant

* Charles Moore, second Lord Tullamore, Muster-master-general in Ireland; created Earl of Charleville 16th September, 1758.

1757. he desired me to mention the state of the case to your Grace, which I promised to do; but at the same time told him I could not interfere, for that every lord-lieutenant must judge for himself, and recommend those he thought most proper. As this was the whole that passed, I was desirous your Grace should know it.

I know Mr. Fox has given you an account of the situation of our affairs here; they are as gloomy as possible. I find by the Duke of Newcastle that there are letters from Spain, the contents of which are very bad. The proposition was made by Keene to Wall, who received it very ill, refused even to mention it, and threw out almost threats of taking part against us. I am informed, though, from another channel, that there is no danger of that; and should hope that Wall's manner of speaking was in some measure owing to the bad terms that he and Sir Benjamin are on. My intelligence, which is not bad, is that Spain will stick to her neutrality.

I have been employed as a negotiator between the King and the Duke,—a very disagreeable office. As soon as I saw no good was to be done, the Duke desired leave to retire; the King with reluctance consented to his giving up the command of the army, but wished him to keep the regiment of Guards. H. R. H. desired to be excused; the King would not accept it, but ordered me to go again and press him to keep it. I have been, without effect. He has leave to come to the King whenever

he pleases, and is returned now just as if nothing had happened. I believe we think we were too hasty. The Duke goes to Windsor to-morrow after court, and proposes coming up of a Sunday as usual. 1757.

Great noise made upon the return of the expedition without having attempted any thing. Almost every body is in the dark, for all the letters have been stopped — two from Mr. Conway to me have never come to hand. I doubt it will prove that this expedition was undertaken upon very slender information of the real strength of the place, or the nature of the coast; for in the first council of war, sea and land agreed unanimously that the attacking the town of Rochfort was neither advisable nor practicable. Time will, I suppose, clear up this affair to us; in the interim it produces clamour and discontent. I most sincerely wish your Grace an easy and quiet session, and am with great regard,

My Lord, &c.

DEVONSHIRE.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

Carton, October 20. 1757.

Sir,

Having just now received a letter from Mr. Fox, with your Royal Highness's most kind message to me, in relation to the part you have been obliged

1757. to take in consequence of the unfortunate situation of his Majesty's affairs in Germany, and feeling your goodness and condescension to me in informing me that you can justify yourself in every respect of honour in all that you have done, I cannot omit taking the first opportunity of assuring your Royal Highness, that I am most firmly convinced of your having done every thing in your power for the service of the King that the circumstances of affairs would permit, and upon the same principles of honour with which you have always acted. Give me leave, at the same time, to return my most sincere thanks for the justice you have done me in believing that no usage your Royal Highness may meet with, nor reports that may be spread, shall ever stagger me in the great opinion I have of your honour, abilities, and zeal for his Majesty's service. The unfortunate situation of affairs, both at home and abroad, makes me more particularly at this time regret the loss the King and the nation suffer by the cruel necessity which obliges you to quit his service for the present; but as I am sure whenever the defence of his kingdoms shall make it necessary for your Royal Highness to quit your retirement you will be ever ready to do it, I feel this satisfaction, that in that time of distress (which may possibly come too soon upon us) your Royal Highness will be at hand to take that command which alone, under God, can save us.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

1757.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. PITT.

Dublin Castle, November 12. 1757.

Sir,

There not having been any packet boat on this side the water for several days, I have been prevented informing you of the proceedings in the House of Commons, which have been of so extraordinary a nature, and have the appearance of creating so much ferment, that I should think myself inexcusable did I not send you, by an extraordinary packet, some narration for his Majesty's information and the consideration of his servants in England.

On the 1st instant, the Commons came to the extraordinary resolutions * which I send you enclosed, which occasioned my consulting with the King's servants who are in the House of Commons what method they would advise me to take, when the House should come up with their resolutions to me in order to be transmitted to his Majesty as the sense of their House. I told them that they appeared to me in a light so derogatory to his Majesty's royal prerogative, and so indecent in the expressions made use of, that I could not think of giving the usual answer in these cases of promising to transmit them to his Majesty, without giving, in some shape, my negative to them, that I might not make myself *particeps criminis* with them; and therefore I did

* Strong resolutions against pensions, absentees, and other grievances; an account of which will be found in *Walpole's Memoirs*, ii. 255.

1757. propose sending a message (which is warranted by precedent), requesting them to reconsider them. This was not objected to at first by any of them, though many declared their doubts whether the House would reconsider them, and some few others their dissent to the House taking that step, so unparliamentary and derogatory to the dignity of a house of parliament, to reconsider their unanimous resolutions in the same session. However, I insisted I must in duty to the King, and myself as his servant, lay in my dissent to their proceedings in some way or other. At first, I designed to do it by message; but it being represented to me from many quarters that the House would construe this (though very unjustly) an encroachment on their privileges, I took the most gentle method of appointing yesterday to receive them at the Castle, and gave them the answer which is here enclosed.

This moderate method I have taken has not had the good effect expected from it; and the House has not only refused entering my answer upon their journals, as has ever been the custom, but threats have been thrown out, and I fear may possibly be carried into execution, of stopping the money bill, unless I shall comply with their demands of transmitting these their resolutions to the King. The violence and animosities of parties in this country, and the little dependence I can have on many of his Majesty's servants, who, though they ought to act jointly and heartily in promoting his Majesty's service, and defending his just and undoubted pre-

rogative, are, I fear, as much divided amongst themselves as the rest of the nation are, make me apprehensive of an inability to carry on the business of the Government with profit to the King and honour to myself, unless I shall be enabled, by taking some strong and vigorous measures, and properly dispensing rewards and punishments, to put a stop to this spirit of faction, which too much at present influences the determinations of Parliament. In the meantime I will, however, endeavour by all methods to assuage, if possible, the present heats, and shall wait with impatience for orders for my future conduct from his Majesty. 1757.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. SECRETARY PITT.

Dublin Castle, November 17. 1757.

Sir,

I am now to give you, for his Majesty's information, an account of every thing material that has passed here subsequent to my despatch of the 13th instant, and relative to the dispute with the House of Commons about transmitting their resolutions of the 1st instant to his Majesty purely and simply, without either recommending the reconsideration of them to the House, or even expressing my disapprobation of the contents of them. It was my firm intention to have done either the one or

1757. the other of these; and in order to effect it, I desired the principal persons who are in civil employments, and of whose conduct in this affair I had reason to conceive some doubt, to attend me at the Castle on Monday the 14th instant. The questions I put to each of them separately I have here enclosed*, with their answers; by which you will observe that the Speaker of the House of Commons and the Solicitor-General were very explicit in not going on with the money bill till an absolute promise of transmitting the resolutions was given to the House. I must add, in justice to the Speaker, that he sheltered himself as much as he could from giving an absolute negative, by using the argument of his being

* "Dublin Castle, Nov. 14th, 1757. — I sent for the gentlemen whose names are underwritten, servants of the Crown, and members of the House of Commons, to insist upon receiving from them, singly, a categorical answer upon this point:

"Whether, in case a question of adjournment in order to prevent the proceeding to-day on the money bill should be proposed in the House, each would use his utmost endeavours to prevent the carrying such question? And,

"Whether each will co-operate to the best of his power towards carrying through the money bill, in order to its being transmitted to England in time to be passed before the old one expires?

"In case my not having sent an answer to the House whether I would transmit their resolutions of November 1st to his Majesty should be alleged as a reason for postponing the money bill, to show the impropriety of that doctrine, particularly in those who are attached by their employments to the crown; because the King's and the public business should not be stopt, and that exceeding confusion brought on which must necessarily attend the loss of the money bill, because the Lord-Lieutenant has not given the actual promise of transmitting which the Commons desired; for if he shall have done wrong, there is a parliamentary way of proceeding against him, without in the least endangering a bill necessary for the service of his Majesty and the public."

in the chair *, which, he said, made it improper for him to give any assurance on a point which he alleged might affect the privileges of the House, which in his situation he was particularly obliged to maintain. But on my pressing him to engage his friends in support of Government, and not to suffer the money bill upon specious pretences to be postponed, and thereby really endangered from passing before the time the old one would expire, should I continue as inflexible as the House of Commons, I received this cold and dry answer from him, that in a point of this sort he could have no influence upon his friends, who would go as their connection did, and according to their own opinions. The conduct of the Speaker to me, and what happened afterwards in the House, where all his friends voted for the adjournment, has obliged me to put him down as giving an absolute negative to carry on the King's business, without my promising to transmit purely and simply these indecent and ill-digested resolutions to his Majesty. 1757.

Mr. Tisdale, the Solicitor-General, was explicit in his declaration of insisting to have a positive and simple promise of transmitting before he could give his consent to proceed in the money bill. I

* The following note is taken from a diary kept by the Duke when in Ireland:—"The Speaker was with me (November 6.), disavowing in the most solemn manner his knowledge of the resolutions agreed to by the House of Commons till they were actually brought into the House, and his disapprobation of them, as likewise of any political connection whatsoever with the Primate."

1757. took all the methods possible to dissuade him from this resolution, and urged, besides the argument which you will find at the end of the paper in which my questions are inserted, his duty to the King, whose servant he was, and every other argument which did occur to me. I likewise assured him, as I did all the others I saw that morning, that I would undoubtedly send an answer the next day with a promise of transmitting them. But I did not think it becoming me, after what had passed on Saturday evening, and the refusal the House had given to enter on their journals the answer I had made them that morning, to take any step till I had given them time to cool; and I was in hopes that the money bill, which was to come on in course on Monday, would have been the likeliest means to persuade those who wished well to Government and the good of Ireland to proceed with good humour, till my answer could have been with propriety sent to them the next morning. And I likewise judged, that though matters should be brought to that extremity to which at last they came, I should not only by a division in the House of Commons know those whom I could trust in any future exigency, but likewise, by the necessity of giving way where his Majesty's service was so essentially concerned, disculpate myself from that blame which doubtless I might otherwise incur by transmitting to him resolutions so derogatory to his royal prerogative, injurious to himself, and so unbecoming a loyal House of Parliament.

Sir Thomas Prendergast, as expressed in paper* marked B., declared that should an adjournment be proposed for a week or a longer term, he would certainly vote against that; but left it doubtful what he would do should it be proposed to be *de die in diem*, which made me fearful, though I took all the pains possible to convince him, that he would do as he did, which was to vote for the adjournment. 1757.

The other gentlemen I saw, and whose names and answers are set down in the paper marked B., gave me very full and explicit assurances of their good intentions to support Government, as well in this as upon any future occasion, which they confirmed by their votes that day, when the majority for postponing the money bill was 85, and the minority for proceeding upon it was 64; so that the question was lost by 21. I am sorry to be obliged to let his Majesty know, that besides those of whom I have already given you an account, some em-

* Paper B.

The Speaker [1] - - -	Negative.
Sir Thomas Prendergast [2] -	Absolute to be against, if for more than one day; rather doubtful as to that.
Attorney-General [3] - -	Affirmative absolute.
Solicitor General [4] - -	Negative absolute.
Captain Butler [5] - - -	Had the gout, and could not come.
Honourable James Obrien, Collector of Cork - - -	Affirmative.
Mr. Michael Clarke, agent to half-pay officers - -	Explicitly affirmative.

[1] Right Honourable John Ponsonby.
[2] Postmaster-General.
[3] Warden Flood, Esq.
[4] Philip Tisdall, Esq.
[5] Honourable Robert Butler, Capt. of Battleaxe Guards, member for the borough of Belturbet.

1757. ployed in the revenue, many officers in the army, and, what is still more extraordinary, some pensioners, who have long reaped the benefit of his Majesty's bounty during his pleasure, were so disgusted at the like marks of favour which the King has been pleased to bestow upon others within these two years past, that they voted to obstruct his Majesty's and the public service, till they should have assurances of a satisfactory answer to their injurious demands of my transmitting the resolutions purely and simply. There is still one particular person remains unmentioned, whom in truth I am ashamed to name, as he had received but the very day before, through my ill-judged intervention in his behalf, a singular mark of his Majesty's favour. This is Lieutenant-Colonel Coninghame*, who voted that day for postponing the money bill. I have nothing to plead to extenuate my offence to his Majesty, but that I believed the giving him this rank would not only confirm him to do every thing in his power to promote his Majesty's service, but, what would have been of more consequence, would have tied the Lord Primate (whose creature he is) to have acted a more grateful part than he has done towards the King and his minister in this country. However, I trust in his Majesty's goodness to forgive this error, and not to impute the ingratitude showed by others for

* Most probably Robert Cuningham, Esq., member for the borough of Tulsk, "a miserable hamlet in the county of Roscommon, consisting of a few mud cabins."—See *Capper's Topographical Dictionary.*

benefits they have received from him as a crime to his Lieutenant here, who has himself ingratitude in so great abhorrence that he with difficulty can bring himself to be sufficiently on his guard against it from others. 1757.

You will see, sir, by this recital I have given you of what passed on Monday, the necessity there was of sending an answer to this demand of the Commons on Tuesday, without which it was publicly avowed the money bill was to be dropped. I still firmly persisted that it was necessary for me, consistent with the duty I owed the King, and my own honour as his servant, to insert such words in my message to the House of Commons as should clearly express my disapprobation of their proceedings, especially as they had precluded me from doing it before, by the unprecedented refusal of inserting my answer to them, when they attended me on Saturday the 12th instant, in their votes and journals. In consequence of this I drew up several *ébauches* of answers, expressing in the most mild and measured terms my sense of the unfitness of these resolutions, but withal my consent of transmitting them to the King, as they so strenuously insisted on my doing it, which in truth I think I could not avoid, as a subject must not presume to put himself between a House of Parliament and his Sovereign. None of these intended answers of mine, though framed in the most mild and moderate manner, would, as I was informed from all quarters, have been received even with decency by the House,

1757. and would have inevitably been the cause of the loss of the money bill; and when at last I pressed that I might at the end of the message promising the transmitting the resolutions add that I would give my humble opinion thereupon to his Majesty, I was generally assured that even that would, in the temper the House was then in, occasion the like hazard.

In this unpleasant situation I found myself on Tuesday morning; and considering the great confusion, and possibly the fatal consequences that might arise from the loss of the money bill, I thought it more prudent for me to put myself on a firm reliance of his Majesty's goodness to excuse my doing what in duty to him I thought I should not do, than to endanger his real service by a too obstinate adherence to my opinion.

As things are now circumstanced, I hope there is no reason to apprehend the money bill not being sent up to the council to-morrow, from whence it shall be immediately transmitted to England, in order to its being returned hither for the royal assent before the 25th of next month. Having in my former letter of the 13th laid before his Majesty the unhappy situation of this country with regard to parties, I have only to add, that I fear by the observations I have made, and by the division in the House of Commons on Monday last, that they are so nearly equal in strength, that those gentlemen who are determined against all government, in whatever hands it may be placed, will be enabled

by their junction with either of the two predominant parties which may happen to be discontented, to embarrass matters to such a degree as to render it exceeding difficult, if not impossible, to carry on affairs here to his Majesty's satisfaction and the advantage of the public; and it was upon the thorough belief of this maxim, which experience has proved to me to be a true one, that I immediately upon my receiving my commission for this lieutenancy from the King, declared that I was determined during my administration here not to give myself up to any faction here, but to recommend to his Majesty's favour, and to support all those indifferently, who should do their utmost to carry on with smoothness the King's business. 1757.

I must now, sir, through your channel, lay myself at his Majesty's feet, and most humbly beseech him to determine in his royal wisdom whether he shall still think proper to continue the administration of this kingdom in my hands, most humbly submitting myself to his gracions determination, in which I shall most willingly acquiesce, be it either for my quitting or keeping this government. If for the former, I shall think myself happy in being discharged from so great a load, to which I may be possibly unequal, but which I was willing to attempt, because it was represented to me as what his Majesty desired and thought might be for his service.

If, on the other hand, his Majesty should think proper to command my services here, I must beg

1757. that he will be graciously pleased to permit me to carry on his government here without making myself subservient to any faction, which I know can only tend to his disservice and my dishonour; and therefore I must most humbly presume to hope that in case I shall find myself obliged to take any vigorous measures for quelling the spirit of faction so prevalent in this nation, such as removing the undeserving from civil employments and pensions, and rewarding the deserving, I may have such countenance and support from his Majesty as will make the people here look up to their Governor, and enable him to set right those defects which faction has too much brought in here, even in the very essence of government.

I do most solemnly declare, that neither ambition nor thirst of power are the motives which induce me to make this my humble request to his Majesty for his entire countenance and support whilst I continue in this government; but a thorough persuasion that I cannot without it effect that which it is as well my duty as my inclination to do.

This present Parliament has sat so long, and the nation has during that period been under so many different governors, and such dissonant plans of policy, that I think it may be easily accounted for how they both come to be rent into such violent parties and factions as now exist amongst them; and I fear by means of this, and the method heretofore used by former lieutenants of governing solely by a particular faction, the prerogative of the Crown

has greatly suffered of late years, and there appears but too great a disposition at present in that part of the House of Commons which now sets up for popularity to wound it still farther, and there are daily threats thrown out of attacking it in the most material part, by attempting an alteration in Poyning's Law. 1757.

The method which has of late years been exorbitantly used by the House of Commons in loading the money bill by resolutions of their own, without the previous consent of or address to his Majesty, ought undoubtedly to be put a stop to, and the method observed in England to be followed as near as the different circumstances of each country will admit, and no money should be voted here for particular services but with the consent and approbation of the Crown. For a proof of this I need only refer you to the votes of the 11th instant, by which it appears that a sum of above 6900*l.* is charged upon the money bill, and I fear a great deal of it without due consideration, to serve private ends. I fear I have already been too long in this despatch, which I would have avoided could I have done it consistently with the duty I owe to his Majesty, before whom I thought it incumbent on me to lay the whole state of matters at this critical juncture; and I flatter myself that in case I shall appear to his Majesty to have been wanting in my duty to him by transmitting these improper and indecent resolutions of the House of Commons, he will be graciously pleased to impute it to the only cause

1757. which can ever make me wanting in duty to him, —an error in judgment.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

Mr. Pitt's answer to this letter, conveying his Majesty's entire approbation of the Duke's conduct, will be found in the *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 284.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Dublin Castle, November 18. 1757.

My Lord,

I have informed Mr. Secretary Pitt very fully in my despatch of yesterday's date of every thing material that has passed since my last letters to your Grace and him of the 13th instant, to which letter I beg leave to refer you.

The Attorney-General has just brought up the money bill, and I have ordered a council to be summoned for this evening, in order that it may be immediately transmitted to England. Your Grace will see by the letter I refer you to how great difficulties I am forced to struggle with, and how great uneasiness I have suffered in finding myself obliged to transmit purely and simply to his Majesty the very extraordinary and indecent resolutions the Commons came to on the 1st instant. But indeed, my Lord, had I not complied, the money bill would undoubtedly have been lost.

I herewith enclose to your Grace a paper which shows to a demonstration how greatly the Commons have erred in their calculations of the increase of pensions from the 23rd of March, 1755, to the 25th of March 1757, upon which false foundation they have framed their resolutions, and which, though known to every one in the House, was not sufficient to prevail on them to reconsider their resolutions, though it was strongly suggested by me to all the principal members that they ought to do it, and not send a wilful misrepresentation to his Majesty. 1757.

I flatter myself that the necessity I was under of giving way to this factious disposition of the House of Commons in order to obtain the money bill, will be a just excuse for me with his Majesty for sending over to him such false and indecent resolutions, without having previously given my disapprobation of them.

Your Grace will be pleased to observe how much the money bill is loaded by a charge of above 6900*l.*, great part of which I fear has been granted without due consideration, and I apprehend in *subsequent parliaments the like practice will be continued,* unless some method could be found out to make the previous consent of the Crown necessary, or that nothing of this sort should be done but by address to the King.

I have wrote so fully to Mr. Pitt upon all other matters which do not immediately concern the revenue, and I have so little time to finish my letters, that I will trouble your Grace no farther at

1757. present, but to mention that I hope no answer may be immediately sent to these resolutions till after the money bill shall be returned hither and passed the House of Commons, lest a handle should be taken to reject it; which is more than probable, considering the ill temper that at present subsists amongst the majority of its members. When that time shall be past, I think it my duty to represent to his Majesty that some severe reprimand should be sent to them, the manner of doing which I must leave to his Majesty's superior wisdom and the opinion of his servants in England. Whatever the determination may be, I have only to assure your Grace that I shall with faithfulness and punctuality obey his Majesty's commands.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

MR. SECRETARY PITT TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, November 18. 1757.

My Lord,

Having laid before the King your Grace's letter of the 12th instant, containing for his Majesty's information a narration of things that have passed relating to the proceedings of the House of Commons of Ireland concerning pensions, and inclosing your Grace's answer to the House with regard to complying with their desire in transmitting

to the King their resolutions of the 1st instant relating thereto, and desiring his Majesty's orders for your future conduct,—I am commanded by the King, in consequence of the unanimous opinion of a meeting of his Majesty's servants consulted on his most secret affairs, to signify to your Grace the King's pleasure that you do transmit, to be laid before his Majesty, the said resolutions; and that you do also acquaint the House of Commons, in such manner as your Grace shall judge most proper, that you have so done. 1757.

The King cannot but have received with much surprise and concern an account of proceedings of so disagreeable and unexpected a nature, and which bear strong marks of such heats and animosities as, if not timely and properly allayed, may be productive of great and serious mischief to his Majesty's service, and materially affect the immediate safety and welfare of the kingdom of Ireland; and the King relies on your Grace's prudence and ability that the wisest and most salutary methods will be employed to attain this happy and necessary end.

I am here to observe to your Grace, with regard to the apprehensions you express of designs for stopping the money bill, that as those apprehensions are founded only on the surmise of heats and resentments that might follow your non-compliance with the demands of the House in transmitting their resolutions to his Majesty, they will, it is hoped, immediately and entirely cease on your

1757. Grace's complying with the same as above directed by the King.

I come now to the last and very material point of your Grace's letter, with regard to your being better enabled to carry on the business of government with advantage to the King and honour to yourself; and I am to signify to your Grace, on a matter of this weighty nature, which demands the most mature consideration, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that you do transmit, for the King's information, your Grace's sentiments and lights concerning the causes of the present animosities, and the difficulties to Government resulting from them, as well as the properest remedies for the same; and in pointing out such methods as your Grace may judge most advisable for deriving support and facility to his Majesty's affairs, your Grace will mention, to be laid before the King, the names of persons, if any such shall occur to you, most capable, and best qualified from their abilities, credit, and connections, to strengthen and promote his Majesty's service.

I am, &c.

W. Pitt.

1757.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. SECRETARY PITT.

Dublin Castle, November 24. 1757.

Sir,

The messenger whom I had despatched with my letters to the Duke of Newcastle and yourself of the 13th, brought me back yesterday your answer of the 18th. I am much obliged to you for the great despatch you have given this business, especially as it sets me at ease, without waiting for orders for so doing, of transmitting purely and simply the resolutions of the House of Commons to the King, which nothing should have induced me to have done, but the apparent danger to the money bill if I should have acted otherwise. I have wrote so very fully to you in my last despatch, that I shall trouble you with no more at present.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

LADY ELIZABETH WALDEGRAVE* TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's, November 26. 1757.

My dear Duke of Bedford,

Nothing but your vast good heart could ever have made you reflect that such an insignificant

* Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, wife of the Honourable John Waldegrave, afterwards Earl of Waldegrave; daughter of John first Earl Gower, sister to the Duchess of Bedford, and lady of the bedchamber to the Princess Amelia. She is the "Lady Betty" of Mr. Rigby's letters.

1757. mortal as myself existed, that must be affected with every trifle that can check your ease and quiet. It was, indeed, no small satisfaction to have it under your Grace's own hand how little those perpetrators of malice and mischief on your side of the water have it in their power to distress or personally mortify you; and it is my opinion they will find that out when it is too late, and repent their folly when they have no friend to redress their absurdities. They talk loudly here of supporting you, and that there is an end of all government if they do not: if they are sincere and in earnest, I think you will get the better of those turbulent spirits. I imagine the messenger that goes to-day will inform you a little on what you are to depend, and what expect from hence. I have not been able to pick up any intelligence with regard to their particular and private opinion upon your affairs; but I am glad to hear his Grace of Devonshire is steady and well upon the occasion. Mr. Reynard assured me his letter to his brother was very spirited and strong, and thinks will not a little frighten that wise speaker. I have heard prodigious commendations of your Grace's letter to Mr. Pitt. As his Majesty does not love very long epistles, he was afraid he should have difficulty to persuade him to read it, and he says every line is of too much consequence to be lost: there is flummery from a great orator. George looks much down since these last violent proceedings of his friends; but he is so dark and deep, I take it he is not very fathomable.

The Generals have made their report to the King, but nothing is yet done in consequence of it. Delay in proceedings of government, especially of this kind, is weak; and if they do not determine something soon, it will be the second part of Mr. Byng's story, and the city will drive them to be more violent than they would choose to be. Mr. Waldegrave has ordered me to enclose you a copy of their report. The whole inquiry is too long; but as every thing relating to their censure is still kept a secret here, he hopes your Grace will have the goodness to show it only where you think proper. He flatters himself if your Grace had been an inquirer you could have given no other opinion; not that it justifies the framers of the expedition, or makes that appear more practicable: the grounds they seem to have gone upon were surely too light, and the executers of it did not take care to throw the blame of the failure of it where it ought to have been. Poor Sir J. M., I am afraid, will suffer. Conway has not made the defence that was expected from so able a man, and F——s has been very firm, and acted like a terrible man in his defence from first to last.* There is a Mons. d'Arcé come from Mr. Mitchell, but he 1757.

* "The Duke of Marlborough, Lord George Sackville, and General Waldegrave have held a public inquest, with the fairness of which people are satisfied. You may easily imagine that, with all my satisfaction in Mr. Conway's behaviour, I am very unhappy about him: he is still more so. Having guarded and gained the most perfect character in the world by the severest attention to it, you may guess what he feels under any thing that looks like a trial."—*Walpole Letters*, vol. iii. p. 332.

1757. brings nothing more than we knew before. The King of Prussia had great luck to have so great a panic seize the French troops just before the action, as it has added much to its being so complete a victory; he is returned to Silesia, and there is certainly no convention of any kind between him and the French. Our master is in a fine scrape if he has ordered his to be broke; for his troops are almost starved, and in so weakly a condition they can hardly act before spring. And I hear the French have threatened if they do break it they will give no quarter, and reduce Hanover and Cassel to ashes, which in my opinion they deserve; for it is certainly not honourable after the convention. Our Parliament meets the 1st: in what disposition I cannot tell; but except what passes about the expedition, I fancy it will be peace. Lord Anson is very angry the court of inquiry has been so severe upon the sea, and says Sir E. H. will defend himself in Parliament. Mr. W. answered him, that he thought, considering their conduct, they had showed them a great deal too much lenity, for in his opinion they had behaved much worse than the land officers. There will be great parties arise about this, and I don't doubt many will condemn the General for the hardness of the censure, but in the main I think it is approved of. Sir Robert Wilmot sends me word I must not trespass any longer on your Grace's time, for the messenger is going very soon. What a melancholy place is this town without friends! and I hate the thoughts of

not passing my Christmas at Woburn. Pray tell the Duchess the height of Lady Coventry's ambition at present is to play at quadrille, at which she plays four hours a day to be worthy of your parties at your return: she says she likes it immensely, and prefers it to all other diversions. They report that Lady L. Ker is to marry Sir Charles Bingham. Lady Ancram has never mentioned it in her letters, so that I doubt of it. I am glad upon Ninette's account that you like the son. I saw Podo the other day, who is, indeed, very happy with your goodness to him. I must trouble you to make our love to all friends in the Castle. Now, my dear Duke of Bedford, show the same partiality to me in this letter as you did in every other respect, and overlook all faults, and believe me, &c. 1757.

BETTINA.

EARL GRANVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Arlington Street, November 27. 1757.

My Lord,

Your Grace will receive from Mr. Pitt's *office despatch* the sense of the King's servants who were at the meeting on your letter, in which you state the several connections in Ireland which do give at present, as they have formerly, so much disquiet to their lord-lieutenants; all which, however, may be surmounted by much less talents and

1757. ability than your Grace has, as I know by experience was my own case in that government. When I went there first, there never was worse humours stirring than at that time, nor more unnatural conjunctions of persons, hating one another, and yet agreeing in insulting the Government; nor more specious pretensions of grievances: and yet, as I would not be put in a passion, nor give them handles, they grew ashamed of themselves and content, so we forgot every thing of both sides; and I held two sessions afterwards with ease, which I make no doubt will happen to your Grace with more honour to yourself and utility to his Majesty's affairs, both at home and abroad, than withdrawing yourself in disgust at the perverseness of such persons, who now are thoughtless enough to ruin themselves, which I think it your duty and honour to prevent, the reflection on which hereafter will give you honour and pleasure. Thus much is in relation to what you say as to leaving the government at present. As to the other part, of your calling for support to *punish* now the undutiful and impertinent, give me leave to say that his Majesty has all the inclination and resolution to support you; but that it his opinion, at present, that you should try all conciliatory ways, which from my own experience I think will succeed, especially now the money bill is transmitted to you. I should not have troubled your Grace with this confidential letter, had not the King himself told me to-day that he wished I would write on this

service to you, which I do, not as a minister, but as a real friend, who has rowed in the same galley which you are now in, and by patience brought it safe into port, notwithstanding the mutiny in the crew for a while, who at last all owned that I had served them usefully. Your Grace, who has infinitely more materials of all sorts than I ever could pretend to, cannot fail of doing the King and your country great service in this particular. I shall not trouble your Grace any further at present, having a very great inflammation in my eyes, which makes writing very uneasy to me. I am, my dear Lord, &c. 1757.

GRANVILLE.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF CLANRICARDE.

Dublin Castle, November 29. 1757.

My Lord,

I am honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 23rd of last month, in relation to Mr. Talbot, about which affair Lord Castlecomer and Mr. Dickinson have likewise spoke to me in your Lordship's name. You must be sensible that I could not, without the highest injustice to every ensign on the Irish establishment, recommend one so young as Mr. Talbot to his Majesty for a lieutenancy; so that I must beg your Lordship to excuse me in this particular.

1757. I have already given your Lordship my opinion about a king's plate for Connaught, and which I still (after having made a most diligent inquiry about the opinion of the sportsmen and horse-breeders of this kingdom) do adhere to; and I think that the Curragh of Kildare is the only spot in the kingdom where it would be advisable for his Majesty to give plates, as well on account of its being the only fit place for horse-racing in the island, as on its situation with regard to the four provinces of Ireland, from none of which it is far distant.

I return your Lordship my thanks for the Marquis of Clanricarde's Memoirs, which you have ordered to be left for me at Bedford House;

And am, &c.

BEDFORD.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. SECRETARY PITT.

(Most secret and particular.)

Dublin Castle, December 5. 1757.

Sir,

I have as yet had barely time to acknowledge the receipt of your secret despatch of the 26th of last month by the last packet that sailed from hence, which I did not think a safe conveyance for the matter I now find myself under a necessity of writing to you.

I think myself under the deepest obligations of gratitude to his Majesty for his gracious approbation of my conduct hitherto in carrying on his business here, and for the assurance that his gracious countenance and support will never be wanting to me in the administration of government in Ireland, in all such proper instances as his Majesty shall be first satisfied are best calculated for contributing facility and strength to his affairs, and ease and credit to myself. As it has ever been my constant wish, in every station of life in which I have acted, to prefer the milder method of conciliation and union to the harsher one of punishment and separation, I shall with great willingness undertake the task, however difficult it may be, which his Majesty has prescribed to me, of using my utmost endeavours to conciliate and unite those two at present very disunited parties: I mean the Kildares and Ponsonbys. This is the only step of conciliation that seems to me to be in any degree practicable; and though the difficulties appear to be very great, yet I don't think them absolutely insurmountable. I have already taken every step that I thought likely to conduce to this salutary end; but as yet I have found very little reason to expect much success in my endeavours, which I must chiefly ascribe to the belief of those reports which have been industriously spread about this town by those of the Primate's faction, that the last despatches I received from you did tie up my hands from taking such measures as I might judge ex- 1757.

1757. pedient to bring back his Majesty's servants to a due sense of their duty. You see by this, sir, what a great misrepresentation has been made by designing men of those orders which his Majesty has been most graciously pleased to give me, which, although they are penned with that spirit of moderation and coolness which his Majesty has at all times shown to all his subjects, preferring in the first instance lenity and admonition to vigour and chastisement, do not, however, prevent me from taking such measures as the obstinacy of some might make absolutely necessary for the carrying on the business of government; and I flatter myself I am well founded in this belief by your again referring me to your despatch of the 18th of November, in which I am directed to transmit to you for his Majesty's information the names of such persons, if any such shall occur to me, as shall be most capable and best qualified, from their abilities, credit, and connections, to strengthen and promote his Majesty's service. As it is absolutely necessary, to enable me to be of any service to the King in this country, that the secret despatches which are to come from you to me be kept inviolably so, I must most earnestly entreat that the contents of them may not be sent to individuals here, as the present instance shows of what dangerous consequence even the most trivial communication may be productive. I can assure you of a certainty that the messenger who brought me your despatches did bring at the same time a letter from

a very considerable person in England to the Primate, besides another letter to one in his family; and it is from this correspondence, I fear, these injurious reports have arisen. That I may not appear to have taken any thing up upon vague reports, I can inform you that Sir Thomas Prendergast has been the person who has propagated them all over this town, and I must leave it to you to judge whether even the bare suspicion of my not enjoying the King's entire countenance and support in my administration is not sufficient to defeat my best endeavours for his Majesty's service. I beg, Sir, that what I now write may not be imputed to the least diffidence I have conceived of you; but I have been long enough about court to know that those of a prying and busy disposition do worm themselves into secrets in a very unaccountable manner, and the more easily the more open and ingenuous the person they have to deal with is. I shall trouble you no longer in this *most secret and particular letter*, than to assure you that whatever orders from his Majesty you shall transmit to me during my stay here, I shall endeavour to execute them with fidelity and punctuality; and as for my return hither a second time, I must leave that to the wisdom of his Majesty and the judgment of his servants in England, who, I am convinced, can never advise him to entrust the government of this kingdom, in its present factious and unsettled state, in the hands of one who shall not be judged proper to be trusted with that power which can alone

1757.

1757. enable him to make that reformation, as well in men as in things, which appears to be absolutely necessary at present.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL GRANVILLE.

Dublin Castle, December 6. 1757.

My Lord,

I think myself much obliged to your Lordship, for the very friendly and confidential letter which Goodhall the messenger brought me from you on the 30th of last month. The method his Majesty has taken, of acquainting me through your Lordship's channel how I should regulate my conduct in this critical situation of affairs, and of his gracious inclination and resolution to support me where it shall be necessary for his service so to do, fills me with the deepest sense of gratitude; and I do assure your Lordship, that it gives me great pleasure to find that his Majesty has thought fit to prescribe the methods of conciliation to be tried in the first instance, and that it was far from my thoughts to desire to punish now the undutiful and impertinent, without first using all gentle methods to reclaim them to their duty. This is what I am now attempting, but at present with no very immediate prospect of success; the obstinacy of parties being so great, and the expectation of many of the

principal persons who compose them being raised to a great height by the emoluments their predecessors in opposition have obtained from the Government, to suffer the King's business to be carried smoothly on through a session. There are besides two other difficulties I am to contend against; namely, the great influence popularity has amongst the members of the House of Commons, who think of nothing so much as the securing their elections in a succeeding Parliament, and the reports which are industriously propagated here by those who wish ill to my administration, that the Primate and his party will have all kind of support from your side of the water, and that the power of rewards and punishments will be very sparingly entrusted to me. 1757.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, I will endeavour to bring about that conciliation and union which his Majesty has so wisely thought proper to recommend, and which your Lordship thinks, by the experience you have had of the people of this country, may be effected. Believe, me my dear Lord, that I think myself very much obliged to you for the very friendly advice you have given me; and your Lordship, as you express it, having rowed in the same galley with me, and having experienced the mutinous disposition of the crew, is doubtless the best pilot I can consult with to bring her safe into port.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Saturday night, Pay Office, Jan. 7. 1758.

My dear Lord,

Every body here, except Lord Granville, seems to think the situation of parties in Ireland such as must put your Grace under great difficulties: Lord Granville sees nothing in it that should give your Grace any trouble. I therefore (not at all able to obviate what I am afraid may happen) shall choose to send your Grace Lord Granville's thoughts, rather than my own, which are too much puzzled to conclude in any opinion.

His lordship says your Grace has nothing to do but to let them dash their loggerheads together, and to transmit whatever nonsense they may cook up to England to be rejected, remaining quietly and coolly at the Castle, till with the last transmiss of bills your Grace desires leave to come away, and humbly to recommend to his Majesty such persons as your Grace shall choose to leave in the government during your absence; which being complied with, you may, he says, come away with dignity, and settle at Bedford House with him and others of the cabinet upon what foot you can with like dignity return, and with what prospect of success go to hold another parliament. Well, but can the lord-lieutenant name his regency, and yet keep the future management of Ireland under him, to be debated on in *conciliabulo* here as *de re integrâ?*

and, if his Grace leaves out the beloved Primate, will his Majesty be suffered to appoint such justices as the lord-lieutenant shall recommend? To the first question his lordship says, your Grace will probably recommend the Chancellor and Lord Kildare, or Lord Kildare alone, to whom you may add as you shall think proper after consultation here, or supersede both by a lord-deputy from hence. 1758.

To the second question he says, that if it is intended (as he protests he thinks it is not) to weary your Grace out of being lord-lieutenant, he don't imagine they can (even in that case) think of requiring your Grace to leave the government in hands you do not recommend. No; in that case, says his lordship, they would let the King appoint your Grace's nominees however, and after your arrival in England accept your resignation, and let another lord-lieutenant appoint other justices. He wants the King's authority to write all this; and could he have seen the King, he had wrote all this to-day to your Grace himself. He will see his Majesty soon, and then your Grace will hear from his lordship. I have now wrote as well as I can the substance of three conversations with his lordship, the last of which was yesterday.

Your Grace may observe he mentioned a deputy, and so have others here on former occasions as well as now. His lordship says *that* may probably be the best way at last; but thinks no fit man can undertake it, unless it is a measure which King and ministers are determined *ex animo* to support your

1758. Grace in for the sake of English authority in Ireland; and therefore, says his lordship, no such man can be found and fixed upon till your Grace comes here in the manner he advises and sees so easy.

I have nothing, my dear Lord, to add of my own; for I do not understand the state of your affairs perfectly. I think I see enough to know that they are got beyond my capacity to advise in. I will only say, that when your Grace is here you must, in order to go again, in my poor opinion have the revenue board taken out of the hands of every Irish faction.*

Amherst, made a major-general, with Wolfe under him, who is to be a brigadier, are to attack Louisburg. Forbes made a brigadier, with Lieut.-

* "In Ireland affairs grew to a crisis. The opposition were inflamed with resentment at the secret committee set up by the Duke of Bedford, the management of which they had wrested from him. As the season too approached for the departure of the Lord-Lieutenant, the Primate had no time to lose for recovering his place in the regency. Every reason of policy made it more eligible to him to obtain that situation by gentle means than by violence. He and Ponsonby offered terms to the Duke of Bedford, who, though confessing their superiority in the House of Commons, refused to unite with them. In truth he had involved himself so much with Lord Kildare [1], and was so unwilling to disoblige Fox by disobliging that lord, that he knew not how to extricate himself. If Kildare would have softened towards the Primate, the accommodation would soon have been completed; but he would not desert himself, and he knew his party would desert him if once reconciled to the Prelate."—*Walpole's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 278.

[1] James Earl of Kildare, subsequently Marquess of the same, and afterwards Duke of Leinster; steps in the peerage obtained through the influence of the Duke of Bedford. There was a connection between Lord Kildare's and Mr. Fox's family: hence the allusion in Walpole.

Colonels Gage, Bouquet, and Montgomery under him, made colonels, are to attack fort de Quesne. Abercromby, with Lord How under him, made a brigadier, are for some attack from Albany. Many there are made general officers, as these are, in America only, and the making Gage and the two others above mentioned has induced, I hear, the giving like brevets of Colonel to every Lieutenant Colonel in America. Your Grace sees what a situation my poor friend Sandford is in, if when Wolfe resigns, he does not meet with your Grace's protection. I heartily wish he may. 1758.

GENERAL WOLFE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, January 26. 1758.

My Lord,

The manner in which your Grace honoured me with the employment of Quarter-Master-General of Ireland, would have engaged me to make the best return in my power, in that my duty and inclinations went heartily together, and should have been happy in every opportunity of paying the readiest obedience to your Grace's commands; but, as his Majesty has been pleased to allow me to serve him in America, I think it right to resign my employment in Ireland into your Grace's hands, from whom I received it; and to whom I shall upon that, and upon many other accounts, always look upon myself to be highly indebted and obliged. It

1758. is a mortification to have been so long in that office, and so useless, and the more especially as under your Grace's government such reformations are more likely to be brought about, which are most necessary. Every occasion of paying my respects to your Grace and of acknowledging with gratitude the favour and honour you have done me, will be most readily embraced by me.

I beg to be permitted to offer your Grace my sincerest wishes for your health, and to assure your Grace that I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

JAMES WOLFE.

SIR C. HANBURY WILLIAMS* TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Hamburgh, January 27. 1758.

My Lord,

I have not, since my being abroad, received so welcome a piece of news as the following paragraph in Lady Essex's last letter brought me, of which she had sent a duplicate to the Hague, in hopes of its meeting me, and as she knew it would give me the utmost pleasure.

" The Duke of Bedford's letter to my Lord about standing godfather, was to us both the kindest thing in the world; what delight will this (as it does

* Sir Charles's character drawn by Lady Mary Wortley will be found in a letter to her daughter the Countess of Bute, in Lord Wharncliffe's edition, vol. iii. p. 160.

me) give my dear father, who has so long been so uneasy about that unhappy affair." 1758.

All this, my Lord, is very true; nothing that ever happened to me gave me a more sensible blow, than the letter (which both from the Duchess of Bedford and your Grace was the kindest to me) that brought the melancholy news of a difference that happened between two families, which both my intention and ambition wished to have seen upon the best and most intimate footing.

* * * * * *

Now to other matters. I have been sensibly afflicted to hear that your Grace has not passed your time so agreeably in Ireland, as I sincerely wish you may do every where—but this won't spoil our gay meals in Bedfordshire and Bedford house; and, though my constitution is much impaired, I am persuaded the company I shall meet there will do me more good than all the physic in the world.

I am at this place, where I have been these five weeks. The King was so good as to send a man-of-war to fetch me to England. But it is at present, and likely to continue so a month longer, froze up between rocks; has been obliged to take out all her cannon, and was near perishing in entering the port.

Being in the centre of news, your Grace may be glad to hear some from a person as well informed as I am.

The ungrateful house of Austria is in the lowest situation. Her army of ninety thousand men was

1758. reduced in twenty-seven days, viz. from the 22d of November, when the battle of Breslaw was fought, to the 19th of December, when that town surrendered to two and thirty thousand, and in all Germany out of the hundred and eighty thousand men, with which she begun the campaign, she certainly has not forty thousand left. On the other hand, the King of Prussia, by the end of March, will be exactly in the same situation he was at that time last year.

Mons. de Richelieu is hardly in a better situation than the Austrians. The French can't any where bear a winter campaign, much less in Lower Germany, where it is, and has been for some time past, much colder than ever I felt it in Russia. The French, at a moderate computation, bury two hundred men a day in the electorate of Hanover. There is a distemper very like a plague among them, so like, that by letters just received, they have been obliged to shut up their great hospital at Hanover, and leave the poor wretches that are shut up there to perish, because nobody will venture in to attend them. Your Grace may soon expect good news from these quarters. I wish I dared write you half the prospect I see before me, but by the common post it is impossible, and there is no probability of any packet boat sailing before I sail myself.

The French have in these parts, entirely forgot their ancient politesse. Their cruelty equals that of Croats, Cossacks, and Calmucks, and their modern

perfidy exceeds their ancient. Of all this I shall tell you many curious particulars when we meet. 1758.

The Swedes, after having given the King of Prussia the strongest assurances of neutrality, attacked him (as they thought) unawares. In revenge for this, the army of Prussia has overrun all Pomerania. Stralsund is actually besieged, and we expect hourly to hear of the surrender of that place, and then Sweden will not have one foot of land in Germany.

The Duke of (that fine country) Mecklenburg thought also fit to execute an imperial commission for seizing some of his Prussian Majesty's territories, upon which he has overrun his whole country, levied a contribution of two millions of crowns, and drove the Duke out of it, who has taken refuge at Lubeck; and, as the duchies of Pomerania and Mecklenburg are stored with good horses, this gives his Prussian Majesty an easy opportunity of remounting his whole cavalry, and I don't see where the house of Austria can buy one horse, as all communication between her and Lower Germany, which is the country that supplies all Europe with cavalry, is entirely cut off. As to the King of Prussia, I reserve him for conversation, quires of paper would not suffice to do him justice in writing: all I shall say of him at present is, that he is now waging war against six crowned heads, four electors, and four other considerable sovereigns, in all fourteen, which makes a double hydra, and that he is victorious.

1758. I wish your Grace may not be already tired, but at Dublin this sort of news may amuse you for an hour when you have nothing better to do than to read my letters. I have done, and shall only add, that with respect to the Duchess of Bedford, no man on earth is more attached to her Grace than myself, and that I am, &c.

C. Hanbury Williams.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO EARL GRANVILLE.

Dublin Castle, February 2. 1758.

My dear Lord,

Mr. Fox having informed me in his letter of January 7th, of what had passed betwixt you in two or three conversations relating to the affairs of Ireland, and your Lordship having since seen in my dispatch of January 4th last to Mr. Secretary Pitt, the ulterior thoughts I have submitted to his Majesty's consideration, to what I had before desired to be directed in, in my letter of the 5th December last; and having as yet received only bare acknowledgements of those letters, without even a promise of being farther instructed, I trouble your Lordship with this (which goes by a safe conveyance) to desire the favour of you to put the ministers in mind, that the time is now approaching for sending over the last transmiss of bills to England, the usual time for the lord-lieutenants of this

kingdom to desire leave to return into the royal presence, and to leave the sword in the hands of one or more proper persons as they shall recommend, and shall be approved of by his Majesty. I have all the reason in the world to be convinced more and more, the more I become acquainted with this country and its inhabitants, that the only safe plan to be followed, in order to establish once more British government in this country, is that sketched out in my last dispatch to Mr. Pitt of the 4th of last month, and as the carrying that into execution, should it be approved of, must necessarily take up some time, I own myself very desirous to be informed of his Majesty's pleasure, as it will be very inconvenient for me on account of my own affairs, to be detained longer than the month of April in this country. I beg your Lordship to excuse the trouble I now give you, which I should not have done, did I not think I had a right to hope for an answer before this time to letters of so much importance to his Majesty's service, and which have lain by for so long a time in the ministers' hands for their consideration. 1758.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Newcastle House, February 11. 1758.

My Lord,

I thought your Grace might not dislike to be informed of a circumstance that came to my

1758. knowledge but two days ago. Our friend Mr. Maxwell* acquainted me that he had just received letters from Ireland upon which he could depend, with an account, that his (Mr. Maxwell's) particular friends there were very ready to come into measures with your Grace, and any other persons whom you may think proper for the support of his Majesty's government under your Grace's administration. If this should be so, I hope your Grace will be able to get rid of all the difficulties which have hitherto attended the public service; and that the King will have the pleasure soon to know from your Grace, that every thing is in a way of being settled for his Majesty's service, and to your Grace's satisfaction; at which nobody will rejoice more than myself. If my intelligence is founded, I conclude your Grace will have had the same information yourself; but the desire I have to see his Majesty's

* Most probably Robert Maxwell, Esq. member for Taunton, whose father was created in 1756 Baron Farnham in Ireland, to which peerage he succeeded in 1759, and in 1760 created a viscount.

In the Duke of Bedford's diary, is the following: — "Lord Farnham desires leave to recommend his son the dean of Kilmore for some advancement in the church at a proper time," upon which his Grace remarks: "I declined giving Lord Farnham any expectations, especially as his son Mr. Barry Maxwell had during the whole session acted very hostilely towards me." The Hon. Barry Maxwell was member for the county of Cavan. At a later period Mr. Barry Maxwell himself applies to be made a commissioner of appeals, upon a vacancy, upon which his Grace observes, "I gave him no hopes at present, but told him, his preferment must depend on his future conduct." It may be as well to remark here, that the Duke's diary during his residence in Ireland is filled almost entirely with applications for places, pensions, promotions in the peerage, and the church; and to each is annexed his reasons for refusing or granting them.

government in Ireland carried on under your Grace without difficulty, or material opposition, and to your own satisfaction, is the sole occasion of my giving you this trouble. I have been much solicited by my Lady Scarborough, and, indeed, for some years, to apply that her son-in-law, my Lord Ludlow* might be made an earl; as I have a great regard for the Scarborough family, I should be much obliged to your Grace if you would propose it to the King, in case your Grace should think it would not be attended with any inconvenience to his Majesty's service. 1758.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. SECRETARY PITT.

(Most secret.)

Dublin Castle, February 13. 1758.

Sir,

There being no packet boat on this side, occasioned by the tempestuous weather and contrary winds, I have not yet ventured to send back Collins the messenger with my despatches, and I am by that means enabled to give you an account of what passed between the Earl of Kildare and me this morning, to whom I had, by means of a very private communication, given an intimation of the overtures made to me by the primate a few days ago. I am

* Peter Ludlow, first Earl, so created in 1760: married Frances Lumley, eldest daughter of Thomas, third Earl of Scarborough.

1758. sorry to be obliged to inform you, that I found his lordship, notwithstanding I made use of every argument that occurred to me, founded upon public and private advantage, and upon the great honour he should acquire to himself by putting an end to party and faction, which had almost ruined all government in this country, very firm, not to say obstinate, in adhering to his former resolutions of never coming into any terms with the primate, and this to such a degree, that I found all I could say was lost upon him, which forced me to be content in insisting on his taking some time to consider of it, and to consult those grave and serious friends, of whose judgment and integrity I believe he has a good opinion. It will be useless and tiresome to you to enter into a detail of all the arguments I made use of; it will suffice to tell you that they were the best my judgment, and the knowledge I had of his lordship's turn of mind, could suggest to me; and that I endeavoured to show him that his firmness might prevent me from being of that utility to him, and those of his connection, which otherwise I might be capable of, and that I feared this obstinacy would be the cause of putting him and his party more into the power of his adversaries than a coalition with them could possibly do, which was the thing he seemed very apprehensive of, as I myself whilst in the government should be the middle man betwixt both parties, and should have it in my power to check any superiority either might attempt to gain on the

other, which, if authorised by his Majesty, as I made no doubt of being, I did most faithfully promise him to do. 1758.

In this situation do affairs stand at present; if any thing new shall arise I will not fail to acquaint you forthwith with it.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

(Private.)

Dublin Castle, February 20. 1758.

My Lord,

I received yesterday the honour of your Grace's letter of the 11th instant, informing me of the intimation you had received from Mr. Maxwell, of the thorough disposition of his friends in this country to co-operate at present with me, towards carrying on the future business of government easily and smoothly. In my letter to your Grace of the 14th instant, I referred you to the despatches I had sent to Mr. Secretary Pitt, by the same messenger who carried my letter to your Grace, for a full information of every thing material that had passed here relating to government, by which you will see I have left nothing untried, that might tend to bring about that plan of conciliation and harmony which has been recommended to me. * I am much

* Note in the Duke's diary (March 6.) "Lord Longford was with me by appointment, and I desired him to lay before the Earl of Kildare, my reasons for desiring him to act in government

1758. obliged to your Grace for the wishes you express of having every thing go to my satisfaction in this country, and I flatter myself with the hopes of your assistance towards enabling me to carry on the King's business here, with advantage to his Majesty and honour to myself. I must now beg leave to state to your Grace the objections that occur to me against making Lord Ludlow an Earl. He is a baron of the year 1755, and I have already had many applications from peers of much older creation for an advancement in the peerage, at the same time expressing their apprehensions of having junior peers put over their head. I hope upon your Grace's stating these my objections to Lady Scarborough, that her ladyship will forbear a solicitation of this kind at present, especially as a promotion to the rank of viscount should, in my opinion, be the immediate step (except in particular cases where his Majesty may judge proper to act otherwise) for a baron to take.

in my absence, jointly with the primate, the Earl of Shannon, and the Speaker of the House of Commons. March 7. Lord Longford brought me the Earl of Kildare's answer, that he could not with truth to the King, consistent with the good of Ireland, nor the restoring government under my administration to its true rigour, act jointly with the primate's government, but that he was perfectly well disposed as a private man to promote peace, and a due subserviency to government under my administration. March 9. The Lord Chancellor was with me to mention the report he had heard of the lords justices I mean to recommend; I told him it was true, and I gave him my reasons for it, with which he seemed satisfied; but he desired me to represent to the King at a proper time, the small appointments the Chancellor has, and likewise as Speaker of the House of Lords, that it would be for the King's service he should be made a peer."

1758.

MR. SHERIDAN* TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

March 20. 1758.

My Lord,

It is not to gratify the vanity of an author, that I presume to request your Grace's favourable acceptance of this treatise on education, and earnestly to recommend it to your serious perusal, but because I think there is not one in the British dominions more nearly interested in the event of it than your Grace. You have proved by your whole conduct in life that you are the genuine offspring of a long line of illustrious ancestors, who were zealous assertors of liberty, and hazarded every thing for the establishment and support of the British constitution. If the signs and tokens of an approaching change, which the histories of all other nations have pointed out to us, if the constant warning voice of the wise, if the general cry of the people, and, above all, if the universal dejection, despondence I may say, despair of the good, are any symptoms of danger to the state, there is no one possessed of considerable property in these countries, who can be easy at so alarming a juncture. The first among subjects, therefore, cannot but wish to see a probability of handing down his honours and estate to his posterity,

It has been proved beyond all possibility of doubt

* Thomas Sheridan, father of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. The presentation copy of his treatise on education, which accompanied this letter, is in the library at Woburn Abbey: it was dedicated to Lord Chesterfield.

1758. that the chief disorders of Great Britain and Ireland have arisen from a wrong course of education, utterly incompatible with our constitution. Nor do I presume to offer this to your Grace upon my own opinion, but upon the judgment of some of the ablest heads in these kingdoms. If this be the case it is evident that those disorders cannot be remedied without reforming education.

Such a scheme is there now on foot; should it take place, it will soon be propagated and spread an universal blessing throughout these realms. Nor can there be any doubt of its success, as it has met with the sanction of some of the best heads, has been embraced by some of the warmest hearts, and is now daily promoted by the earnest endeavours of some of the foremost men in this kingdom in point of rank and fortune. Indeed there never was an instance in this country on any similar occasion, of so rapid a progress made in so short a space of time, and that too in spite of the utmost endeavours of a numerous body of interested and malevolent enemies to put a stop to it, besides the equal difficulties which always attend attempts towards reformation, or making any change in established modes. This is the true state of the case, notwithstanding the utmost industry used to propagate a contrary belief; it will shortly be known to be so by all the world, when the proceedings of the society, which are now drawing up by one of the best men and most distinguished writers of the age, shall be published.

I humbly beg leave to observe to your Grace, 1758.
that you have it in your power to make the æra of your government, by a due encouragement of this scheme, more remarkable than that of any since the revolution, to endear your name to the present times, and hand it down beloved to posterity.

Nor think this, my Lord, a chimera of mine. I can assure your Grace, that one of the wisest and most beloved of your predecessors in the government of Ireland, I mean Lord Chesterfield, purposed to build the chief part of his present as well as future fame upon establishing only part of this plan. He publicly proposed it here; he made several declarations of his intentions to reduce it to practice on his next intended return to his government; and he has since more than once done me the honour to tell me, that had he returned, his settled resolution was to have brought with him a royal endowment of a thousand pounds a year, to lay the foundation of a school for oratory and the English language. Nor indeed was it possible for him to have thought of an expedient that would have rendered him more popular to the present, or which would make his name be remembered with more gratitude by future ages.

I beg your Grace to believe that I have no interested point in view in thus laying my thoughts upon this head before you. My chief motive is, that I look upon myself as much obliged to your Grace for the countenance and encouragement which you have been been pleased to show to the theatre

1758. this winter. Gratitude makes me wish well to your Grace; I wish you to receive all the honours you deserve, I wish your return to this country for the sake of the country, and I wish you to enter it amidst the universal acclamations of all ranks of people.

I shall make no apology to your Grace for the length of this address, which I consider as a compliment. There are few men of rank or high station in this dissipated age, to whom I would write at all upon a serious subject, or if I did, I should certainly endeavour to bring my thoughts within the compass of six lines at most, in order to have a chance of being read. But your Grace's display of your talents in your legislative capacity, has long since convinced the world that your youth was spent in very different courses from those which have been pursued by most of the young nobility; and that you have very early in life both read and thought much upon the most serious subjects. This consideration it was which induced me to think that it would be no unentertaining employment to your Grace, at your leisure hours, to look into a book which treats upon education in a manner entirely new; and at the same time fills me with confidence that if it has the good fortune to meet with your approbation, it will at the same time be honoured with your encouragement.

I am, &c.

THOMAS SHERIDAN.

1758.

The following notes are taken from the Duke of Bedford's diary, and from "heads of business to be laid before the King."

"May 24th. — As things are circumstanced business may be easily carried on the next sessions; but the leading people must have *douceurs*, a great many of which I must at a proper time lay before his Majesty, by these means he may do what he pleases with that country. The Princess of Hesse may have her pension of 5000*l.*; but other things of the like nature must be given in Ireland. Pensions to the amount of above 5000*l.* per annum have been extinguished since my going to Ireland.

"The House of Commons of Ireland will ever, when there shall be such a vast redundancy of money in the treasury, as there was when the Duke of Devonshire took the Government, be fond of idly throwing away vast sums, as they did in the last and preceding sessions; this I hope to be able to prevent in the next.

"To propose the following persons to be made peers: —

"The Chancellor, if his Majesty shall please to make an augmentation of 500*l.* per annum to his salary, to be created a Baron.[a]

"Sir Arthur Gore, a Viscount.[b]

[a] Created Baron Bowes of Clonlyon.

[b] Member of parliament for the borough Donegal, created Baron Saunders and Viscount Sudley of Castle Gore, in the county of Mayo, and in 1762, Earl of Arran, in the county of Galway, on the recommendation of the Earl of Kildare.

1758. " Sir Maurice Crosbie, a Baron.[c]

" John Lysaght Sen, a Baron.[d]

" William Annesley, Esq., a Baron.[e]

" James Stopford, Esq., a Baron.[f]

" (Agreed to.)

" Lord Viscount Castlecomer to be made an Earl.[g]

" Lord Tullamore to be made an Earl.[h]

" Lady Athenry to be made a Countess.[i]

" (Agreed to.)

" Likewise Mr. Cole[k] and Mr. Mason's[l] request to be made Barons.

" (Not at present.)

" And Lord Rusborough to be made a Viscount.[m]

" (Not agreed to.)

" Persons proposed to be of the Privy Council.

" Earl of Westmeath.

[c] Member for the county of Kerry, created Baron of Branden, county of Kerry; on the recommendation of the Earl of Shannon.

[d] Member for the borough of Charleville, created Baron Lisle of Mountnorth.

[e] Member for the borough of Midleton, created Baron Annesley of Castle Wellan.

[f] Member for the borough of Lethard, created Baron of Courtown, county of Wexford.

[g] John Wandesford, Viscount Castlecomer, created Earl of Wandesford.

[h] Charles Moore, second Lord Tullamore, advanced to the dignity of Earl of Charleville.

[i] Dowager Baroness, created Countess of Brandon, county of Kilkenny.

[k] John Cole, Esq. member for Inniskillen. In the Duke's private diary this note: — " Mr. Cole, member for I. was with me to lay in his pretensions for the title of Ranelagh, which he said was promised to be recommended to the King by the Duke of Devonshire." " I gave no promise but to lay his pretensions before the King," created in 1760, Baron Mount Florence of Fermanagh.

[l] Most probably Aland Mason, Esq. member for the county of Waterford.

[m] Joseph Leeson, First Earl of Miltown; advanced to the Viscounty of Rusborough, 1760.

" Bishop of Meath. 1758.
" Lord Viscount Jocelyn.
" Lord Carysfort.
" Charles Gardiner, Esq.
" (Agreed to.)

" The following persons to have pensions during pleasure, for the sums set against their respective names:—

	£
Countess of Drogheda - - -	200
Mrs. Gore and her daughters - -	200
Guy More, Esq. - - - -	200
John Blennerhassett, Esq. - -	200
James Hussey, Esq. - - -	200
The Honourable Mrs. Walsingham -	200
Honourable William Molesworth and Anne his wife, in addition to their pension -	100 "

The recommendation for these peerages and pensions was accompanied with a memorandum indorsed, " This paper was laid before the King soon after my return from Ireland, May 1758."

" His Majesty having been pleased to signify his pleasure to the Duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, that whenever the circumstances of affairs would permit it to be done without prejudice to his service, or discontent to his good subjects of that kingdom, that it be intended to grant a pension upon that establishment of 5000*l.* per annum to H. R. H. the Princess of Hesse Cassel, for her life, and the lives of the princes her children; the Duke

1758. of Bedford thinks it is his duty to represent to his Majesty that it is his opinion, that in consideration of the present tranquil state of that kingdom, and the great decrease of the pension list, occasioned by the death of several persons, who had very considerable charges upon it, that the present time is the properest for his Majesty to carry into execution his gracious intentions to his royal daughter and her family, provided his Majesty will be pleased to consent that the following pensions during pleasure, may be likewise placed on that establishment, which, as they are entirely intended for persons resident in that kingdom, and calculated solely to enable me to carry on with success his Majesty's service there, will be the likeliest means to quiet people's minds, who might otherwise be uneasy to see such a great annual sum carried out of their country without having any share of it themselves. This seems likewise the more necessary in order to quiet people's minds there, as his Grace the Duke of Newcastle informs me, that it is for his Majesty's service in this kingdom that Mr. Charlton should have a pension of 1500*l.* per annum for his life on the establishment of Ireland, which I think likewise may be done, without detriment to his service.

"His Majesty is likewise most humbly desired to approve of the inclosed list of peers proposed to be promoted to higher honours; and of commoners to the peerage; as likewise of persons proposed to be put into the Privy Council: and to permit me

humbly to assure him, that considering the difficulties I had to struggle with, the favours now asked for his subjects there (who are either very considerable in themselves, or by their connections with others) are far less than what has been usually granted upon the recommendation of former lord-lieutenants, though in times of infinite less difficulty than I had to struggle with." 1758.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Pay Office, June 20. 1758.

The news of this day is of a very bad sort, not much credited, I find, by the generality; but Calcraft, who told me of it, relies much upon his intelligence, and says that the siege of Olmutz is certainly raised by M. Daun, who made a forced march to the King of Prussia's army over a country that was thought impracticable, and defeated him; and that a large convoy of provisions going to his Majesty's army, escorted by 4000 men, is likewise cut off. I dined at Holland House: only Calcraft and me; have been since at Arthur's, where this news has been heard, but I find is not believed. But I rather expect it will turn out a bad account. I was with the Duke of Newcastle this morning at the Treasury; he has wrote your Grace an answer to your very proper letter to him upon Prince

1758. Ferdinand's business, containing a kind of promise that there shall be no more pensions granted. I likewise saw Lord Bessborough there, who acquainted me that he had wrote to your Grace for the government of the county of Kilkenny; and when I told him of your Grace's answer to Lord Castlecomer upon that subject, I never saw any body more pleased, or more sensible of your great kindness and civility towards him. I called at Lord Ancram's this morning, with a view to have seen any of the family but himself, but could not get into the house. General Blith's having the command operates very differently there, I believe, but makes it an unpleasant garrison, I should guess. The Duke of Marborough did me the honour this morning of a visit, and bid me tell your Grace if he had a day possibly at leisure he would wait upon you at Woburn, but he is hurried to death to get away next Monday. Lord Downe told me in a whisper he had still hopes of going to Germany; and I have heard since, that there is a captain too ill in Kingsley's to serve, who is still to receive his pay, and Lord Downe to do the duty without pay, but with a commission of captain; and as this is not to be a place of profit, it is not to vacate his seat for Yorkshire. Cuninghame, and all the volunteers, supernumerary aides de camps, &c., are not permitted to go. Blith is also to set out on Monday, and Prince Edward, who now wears the sea uniform, is a midshipman on board Howe's ship.

1758.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Private.)

Pay Office, ten o'clock, Wednesday evening, June 28.

I am arrived here this evening sent for express by the Duke of Newcastle, to attend your Grace to-morrow with a request (if I may call it so) from H. M. It is for a pension of 2000*l.* a year upon Ireland, for Prince Ferdinand for life. I shall reserve all observations upon this matter, until I have the honour of seeing your Grace; nor should I have troubled you with a letter upon this subject only; but, as I have just now seen Mr. Wood*, he has told me of some letters, which were sent to your Grace yesterday from Mr. Pitt concerning some regiments of dragoons upon the Irish establishment. I think, therefore, better your Grace should know that I am in town, before I set out for Woburn, that if you have any business to employ me in here, I may do it. If your Grace should have none for me, a single line to tell me so by this messenger will be sufficient, and I shall pay my respects to you to-morrow evening at Woburn.

The Duke of Newcastle swore to me, that nobody but the King and himself knew of the affair of the pension, which is to lie at your mercy; and I

* Robert Wood, Esq. under secretary for the southern department.

1758. promised nobody but your Grace should ever hear of it from me, if you refuse it.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Woburn Abbey, June 30. 1758.

My Lord,

Last night Mr. Rigby brought me your Grace's message, importing the King's desire that a pension of 2000*l.* per annum on the Irish establishment, might be granted to his highness Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, for his life. To which I must answer, that though it is undoubtedly in his Majesty's power to dispose of the redundant money in the treasury of Ireland, yet it is as undoubtedly my duty to submit to his Majesty's wisdom my doubts, if any such occur to me, on the fitness of such a measure. Now, my Lord, in the present case it doth appear to me, that, considering the small sum now in the treasury, in comparison of what there was three years ago, and the little prospect there is of there being any redundancy at the beginning of the next session of Parliament, and likewise that the sum of 6750*l.* has just now been placed on the pension list, of which sum but 1250*l.* is granted to residents in Ireland, it may be attended with great inconvenience to his Majesty's service, and probably with some clamour in the House of Commons, should this additional sum be

likewise granted on the pension list; which, though it should be granted to a Prince highly deserving his Majesty's favour, yet that assembly, and indeed the whole nation in general might think it hard, that services purely British or German should be paid out of their pockets. Having thus submitted to the King my thoughts upon this subject, I have only to add, that I shall, should he think the arguments I have offered against granting this pension, of no weight, do my utmost to prevent this measure from being of disservice to his Majesty's affairs in that kingdom. 1758.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

LORD TULLAMORE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Dublin, July 1. 1758.

My Lord,

I beg leave to return your Grace my most sincere thanks, for your kindness in obtaining from his Majesty the honour conferred upon me, and for your goodness in directing me to name the title.

If there be no objection, I would chuse to be styled Earl of Charleville in the King's county, and assure your Grace that I am with the highest sense of your favour,

TULLAMORE.

1758.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Chatsworth, July 11. 1758.

Vernon says he shall go from hence and be at Woburn to-morrow, and by him I send your Grace a letter my Lord Chancellor Bowes has inclosed to me. I have many other letters from the several peers and pensioners, in answer to mine wrote by your Grace's order, for their several styles and titles; but I shall not trouble you with them, till I have the honour of seeing your Grace a very few days hence.

I have received also here, sent me from the Pay Office, another summons from the Duke of Newcastle, desiring to see me, as yesterday, at the Treasury. Had I received it time enough to have obeyed the contents of it, I should nevertheless not have put myself to the same trouble as I did from Mistley*, as your Grace did not think that absolutely needful; and I beg leave to take this opportunity of assuring you, that I shall never pay any obedience or attention to that quarter, more than common civility, that I am not positive, most absolutely coincides with your inclinations. I guess it was only to talk with me upon the last job for Prince Ferdinand, but should it be to propose through me a fresh one to your Grace, I shall think myself very happy to have been out of the way.

* Mr. Rigby's seat in Essex.

1758.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD ATHENRY.*

Woburn Abbey, July 21. 1758.

My Lord,

I am honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 7th instant, which I own did not a little surprise me; for, had your Lordship given me, when I was in Ireland, the least intimation of your desire of being created an earl, I should most undoubtedly have promised you to mention it to his Majesty, who, I am convinced, would have made no difficulty in granting it. But, indeed, my Lord, I did not conceive, that a baron of so ancient a creation as your lordship, would have changed that title for any one his Majesty could have given you in Ireland. Your lordship is pleased to say, "that the number of earls that are hourly creating puts you under the necessity of requesting that his Majesty would grant to you and your successors the precedence of all earls' children:" now, my Lord, this request is so unprecedented, and I believe so much out of the King's power to grant, was he even inclined to do it, that I must beg your Lordship to excuse my not even mentioning it to him.

I must likewise beg leave to observe, that in case you should hereafter desire me to mention you to his Majesty for an earldom, it can be done no otherwise than by coming in junior to those on whom the King has already conferred that dignity.

* Thomas twenty-second Lord Athenry, created April 1759, Earl of Louth.

1758. I must likewise desire you to observe, that the number of those now made earls, is but the third part of those made in 1756, and that one of those now made being a viscount had precedence of your Lordship before, and that the other, Lord Tullamore, has no children.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Newcastle House, July 21. 1758.

I have given your Grace so much trouble of late upon public business, that I am almost ashamed to add to it. But your Grace's goodness encourages me to hope that the application which I am now making will have your assistance, when I ask it as a personal favour to myself, and in that light only I desire it may be considered, and I shall be extremely obliged to you if you will comply with my request. The case is this: Some time ago, my Lord Temple, and his two brothers, applied very earnestly to me, as a favour to themselves, that I would endeavour to have my Lord Braco*, who has been long a peer of Ireland, created an earl of that kingdom. Their earnestness was so great, and the circumstances were such, that I could not avoid complying with their request so far, as to assure

* William Duff, created Lord Braco of Kilbryde, 1735; and Viscount Macduff, and Earl of Fife, April, 1759.

them that I would use my interest with your Grace to get it done. Upon the late promotions in Ireland they have renewed their applications in the strongest manner, and I have repeated again the same assurances which I gave before. I don't enter into the merit or demerit of the case; I put it singly where it is, as a favour to myself, and as such only I apply for it. This Lord Braco is a man of a great estate in Scotland, and one whom I remember Sir Robert Walpole made an Irish peer, as thinking it then of consequence to the King's service. He lives altogether in Scotland, hardly known any where else, even by name *; and I should hope that such a man, at such a distance, who never can come to interfere with the peers of Ireland, in any degree, being promoted to an earldom, would not give them any uneasiness, and I should think it would be pretty indifferent whether he remained a viscount or baron, or was made an earl. However, I do not put it upon that foot, I ask it as a favour of your Grace, and as such I shall ever acknowledge it. 1758.

EARL OF BESBOROUGH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, July 22. 1758.

Many thanks to your Grace for the honour of your most obliging letter. Your Grace's manner

* This seems a singular reason for making Lord Braco an Irish Earl.

1758. of conferring favours upon your friends doubles the obligation, and requires the earliest acknowledgment. I hope you will accept of my most sincere thanks for this favour to me. Mr. Rigby informed me yesterday of your Grace's answer to Lord Castlecomer's request. I esteem it a particular mark of kindness to me, and I shall always be sensible of it.

LORD PRIMATE OF IRELAND TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Leixlip, July 25. 1758.

My Lord,

The honour which your Grace has been pleased to confer upon me by your letter from Oakley demands the strongest and most grateful acknowledgments; and if I do not make them as I ought, it is only because I cannot find expressions answerable to my sentiments, and not from want of a just and full sense of your Grace's goodness and condescension to me. Since the time of your Grace's leaving this kingdom, nothing has occurred either amongst the governors or in any other quarter that can in the least degree tend towards reviving the spirit of party and division which your Grace had so happily composed.

The natures of the people through the whole country seem to have undergone an entire change, to the observation and indeed to the astonishment

of us all; so that we do now actually and every day feel the effects of your Grace's good government; and the same temper, justice, and impartiality which your Grace has already shown, and from which I am thoroughly persuaded your Grace will never knowingly depart, can hardly fail to continue operating in the same manner, and will in the end restore that authority to his Majesty's government here, the relaxation of which had solely caused so much confusion and indecent disorder as have of late prevailed amongst us. 1758.

I most exactly remember, and your Grace I trust has not entirely forgot, the professions I made when I had first the honour of being permitted to speak to your Grace upon this subject. I have observed them faithfully since; and when I am found to fail either in act or word, I shall own that I have forfeited all pretensions to your Grace's favour or good opinion. Some bias of inclination towards those with whom I was for many years confined to live and act, is not unnatural, nor I hope unjustifiable, and may sometimes operate unknown to myself; but my real wish is, that your Grace's favours may have liberty to flow from yourself, and be directed by your own judgment and inclination to individuals, and not be forced by the strength of any connection whatsoever. If I have gone so far as to intimate a desire of some consideration hereafter to those who have been classed as the Speaker's or my friends, my chief purpose has been that by such a distribution future

1758. combinations might be made less practicable, and to prevent personal disappointments (for such there must ever be) from being resented as a common cause.

As your Grace has been pleased to mention the forming of the new Boards, I may take the liberty of saying that I think your Grace has judged perfectly right in deferring the execution of that measure until every part of it can be thoroughly digested. That of the Barrack Board may be of very considerable service, but the framing of it, especially with regard to the powers which ought to be, or which legally can be, vested in those commissioners, will, as I apprehend, require a very minute attention; and (the proceedings of the present Board having been so cramped and entangled by various resolutions of the House of Commons framed from dislikes differently pointed in different periods of time) perhaps at last some help from the legislature will be wanted before that machine can be put rightly in motion.

Your Grace will likewise see by the end of this summer the produce of the present fund, and will be able to judge to what degree the present revenue will enable you to enlarge the expenses of the establishment without a loan; which must certainly be done if necessary, but will as certainly be attended with some trouble whenever that necessity arises. From what may be judged from the collection hitherto, the appearances are not bad. The business of that Board is carried on with the most perfect

agreement, and Sir Richard Cox * has made himself both useful and acceptable to those who were most averse to the thought of his coming amongst them. 1758.

In a letter some weeks since to Mr. Rigby, I begged the favour of him to recommend Mr. Lyons † from me to your Grace, for a seat at the new Barrack Board, which I did unknown to Mr. Lyons, nor have I yet acquainted him with my having done it; but I was, in truth, very desirous that some softening favour should fall upon that hot and parched ground which he inhabits, although his own temper, which is exceedingly gentle, does not come within that description.

If your Grace sees expediency in that measure, I shall receive it as a very strong instance of your Grace's attention to me, and it will indeed be a sensible relief to me in my private relation there; besides that I really believe it would count to as much profit as any one favour your Grace can bestow. But as your Grace's goodness to Mr. Cunningham ‡ encourages me to name him again to your Grace, I must entreat you to look upon him on this occasion as the person for whose success and fortunes I am the most, and in the first instance, concerned, and that any favour conferred by your Grace upon him

* Sir Richard Cox, Bart., member for the borough of Cloghniketty. He was placed in office by the Duke of Bedford in contravention of the usual practice of appointing to the Revenue Board the English only.

† Henry Lyons, Esq., member for King's county, appointed one of the commissioners of barracks.

‡ Robert Cunningham, Esq., member for the borough of Tulsk; appointed one of the commissioners of barracks.

1758. will be the most sensible and most pleasing return I can possibly receive from your Grace for a faithful discharge of my duty in your service. I may also on some future occasion be so bold as to name to your Grace some persons in my own profession for advancement, whose merits and characters will, I am sure, when they are known to your Grace, very much assist my recommendation of them. I beg your Grace to consider me as most entirely attached to your service, which at present it is plainly my interest as much as it is my duty to be; but if I should live to see that particular obligation which now binds me to you cease, (which I hope, however, will subsist many years,) it is my earnest wish, and shall be my constant endeavour, to acquire and to preserve some share in your Grace's esteem, and (if I might aim so high) in your friendship; and to show your Grace that it is with a just sense of what is due to your private virtues, at least as much as to your public station, that I have the honour of being, with the utmost respect, duty, and attachment, my Lord,

GEORGE ARMAGH.

May I take this occasion of presenting my humble and most respectful compliments to my Lady Duchess.

1758.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

(Private.)

Woburn Abbey, July 29. 1758.

Your Grace in your private letter of the 21st instant has, by making it a personal favour to yourself, put it quite out of my inclination to make use of any arguments, or to state the difficulties which it occurs to me may result from the moving his Majesty to create Lord Braco an earl of Ireland. My desire to oblige your Grace is so great, even upon the recommendation of those very men who will not condescend to make their requests for a favour in my own department to me personally, that I cannot hesitate a moment to assure you that I will, in conjunction with your Grace, use my utmost endeavours with the King to consent to the creating Lord Braco an earl of Ireland, though those who have applied to your Grace for it have no more claim to my favour than the young gentleman, Mr. Duff, in whose behalf this request is made. Your Grace will, I hope, likewise give me leave to inform you that, upon the creation of the two last earls, I have received complaints from those who think themselves at least equally entitled with them to that honour, and also wish to have their pretensions laid at a proper time before his Majesty. However I will say no more upon this subject for the cause mentioned in the beginning of this letter of your Grace so immediately interesting yourself in it; but will, upon my next

1758. having the honour of seeing you, be ready to receive your directions for the carrying it into execution.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE LORD PRIMATE OF IRELAND.

Woburn Abbey, August 7. 1758.

I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's very obliging letter of the 25th of last month, which came to my hands on the 2d instant. I am very glad to find by it that affairs on your side the water still continue to go smoothly, and that you think the plan upon which I have proceeded, and which I am determined to pursue with the most religious impartiality, likely to produce those good effects I promised myself from it. I hope I need not again assure your Grace that neither yourself nor Mr. Ponsonby shall ever have reason to complain of me. The Earl of Besborough, soon after his father's death, wrote to me about the government of the county of Kilkenny, to which, though I had received a prior application, I gave a most favourable answer; and I suppose before this time, as I have heard nothing from the Lords Justices, their Excellencies have appointed him to the government of that county, which is what I should have done had I been present in Ireland.

There will come to the Lords Justices by this mail his Majesty's letter for putting Prince Fer-

dinand of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel on your esta- 1758.
blishment for a pension during life of 2000*l.* per
annum. That your Grace may see all that has passed upon this subject, though it is not for public inspection, and is only meant for the Lords Justices' private information, I herewith transmit to your Grace copies of my letter of the 30th of June last to the Duke of Newcastle, his Grace's letter to me of the 21st of July, and my answer to it of the 29th of the same month. I think it highly proper that your Grace and the government should be fully informed of this transaction, though it should by no means be made public.

LORD PRIMATE OF IRELAND TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Leixlip, August 15. 1758.

I had the honour of receiving by the last mail your Grace's letter of the 7th, with copies enclosed of the letters which had passed between your Grace and the Duke of Newcastle relative to his Majesty's grant to Prince Ferdinand; for which mark of your Grace's attention and confidence I return my sincerest thanks. I shall, as soon as I have an opportunity, make the entire communication of them to the Lords Justices; and shall from time to time impart the general substance of them to other persons in such manner as I think

1758. may best serve to remove the prejudices or apprehensions which grants of that kind are apt to occasion. Your Grace has certainly done every thing on your part, which could be expected or required, in behalf of this country; and your representations upon this transaction cannot fail to operate in case of future applications for the like favours, where the merit and pretensions are less. If the revenue should fall short of the expenses incurred, there is no doubt that every article will be talked over, while the operation of supplying the deficiency is performing; but as to mine own private opinion, I am free to own, and shall be, if the matter comes in question, as free to declare, that this late grant from his Majesty is peculiarly free from objection, and should not either in decency or in justice be made the subject of particular complaint. It is my earnest wish, that there may be no necessity for a loan next session here. Some people, I know, treat it as a matter of indifference, and even of convenience; but I am greatly mistaken if the wisest of them could find the means of providing for it, if more should be wanted, than what could be answered by the revisal of those duties which were discontinued on the payment of the former debt; which duties were chiefly additional upon imported commodities already and now taxed. But if these (which amounted formerly to somewhat more than 20,000*l.* each year) should prove insufficient, I cannot see what new species of taxation could be invented. If the articles of com-

mon consumption were to be tried, I am confident the experiment would not answer. The substance and the manners of this country are not to be estimated by the efforts towards luxury and splendour made by a few in the metropolis. The bulk of the people are not regularly either lodged, clothed, or fed. And those things, which in England are called necessaries of life, are to us only accidents; and we can, and in many places do, subsist without them. The estates have risen within these thirty years to near double the value, but the condition of the occupiers of the land is not better than it was before that increase; nor can I imagine any resource for raising money here, but by an immediate tax upon the land. The monstrous debt of England, and the facility with which such sums are seemingly raised every year, is a problem far beyond my comprehension, and which I heartily wish I may never live to see solved. 1758.

Mr. Rigby informed me (and I took care to inform Mr. Ponsonby) of your Grace's goodness to himself and his family upon the application made to you for the government of the county of Kilkenny; of which he is fully sensible. The present Earl of Besborough had wrote to his brother immediately after notice of his father's death, to desire that honour, which had been so many years in their family, might be continued in him: these things being left by your Grace to the discretion of the Lords Justices, I made no scruple of concurring at once in making the appointment; especially as it

1758. appeared to me perfectly natural, and so much of course, that no dissatisfaction could arise in any quarter from it: and I must say, that whoever made an application to your Grace upon that head must either have supposed you less informed of the true state of the country than you certainly are, or must himself have been less acquainted with your Grace's candour and love of justice than he ought to have been. I beg your Grace to be assured, that I will not, in the next trifling instance, use that share of power entrusted with me to any purpose different from what I think your Grace's own purpose would be were you actually present; and where I am doubtful, I shall always desire your Grace's directions before I agree to any act, which I must now do in a case of some consequence to me. The Lords Justices have received in form an application from the Earl of Belvedere, desiring to be appointed joint governor of the county of Westmeath with the Earl of Westmeath, who is now sole governor, by an appointment of the late Lords Justices under the Duke of Devonshire. Lord Belvedere's pretensions are, that the former appointment was partial, and an act of marked unkindness to him. That his estate in the county is four times greater than Lord Westmeath's; that his influence is in proportion greater, and sufficient to insure the election of two members to parliament; besides, that the very recent conversion from popery makes the preference more irksome. In addition to all which arguments, the claim of friendship with

two of the Lords Justices was strongly urged. My answer was, that I acknowledged all the facts to be true, and admitted the tone of all the arguments; and that the bias of our private inclinations could not be doubted. But that I would not, in the case of my nearest friend, depart from the engagements I was under to your Grace; which bound me not to make any alteration in the situation of things here, especially in county matters, except where vacancies were necessarily to be filled up. I am sensible that Lord Belvedere will think me a cold friend, and that I am making my court to my enemies, whom he made his enemies, also, upon my account. I should certainly be very glad that your Grace might think it expedient to comply with his Lordship's request. What he urges with regard to his power in the county is undoubtedly true, both positively and comparatively; but I shall not presume to take any step in it, unless your Grace, after taking it into your consideration, should be pleased to intimate to me that it ought to be done. 1758.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Here is a phænomenon come in to dinner — the Earl of Chesterfield, looking as well as I have seen him these many years. He says he shall not be perfectly so till Hazard comes in. He is as deaf as the die-box. I have a letter to-day from

1758. Sir Charles Williams from Bristol Wells, where he says he is gone to attend his daughter Essex's complaints.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. SECRETARY PITT.

Woburn Abbey, August 29. 1758.

Sir,

Upon my return to Kensington on Saturday last, Mr. Rigby acquainted me with the conversation you had had with him in relation to a body of troops, which you propose should be sent to secure our late acquired possessions at Senegal, and to make fresh conquests on the French in those parts. Mr. Rigby likewise informed me that you was pleased to add, you was sorry you had missed the opportunity of seeing me when I was at court on Thursday last, that you might then have communicated your thoughts to me on that subject, of pushing with vigour our conquests in Africa, which you believed was not disagreeable to my manner of thinking. Mr. Rigby did, indeed, very prudently answer, that he believed I should not disapprove of the measure, but of the manner of doing it, which, if it was still further to weaken Ireland, by taking from thence more infantry from that small body we had there at present, he feared that measure would be very disagreeable to me. As it is of very little consequence what my opinion is about the general measure, I shall confine myself to what

relates solely to my own department, viz., whether any body, and if any, what number of infantry, can, consistent with the safety of the kingdom, be spared from it? 1758.

In a former letter, which I wrote to you from Dublin, dated January 3d, 1758, I had the honour to inform you, that I very much feared the taking Colonel Anstruther's regiment from Ireland for the American service would too much weaken that part of the army in which I put my chief trust — I mean the infantry; which, indeed, rather wanted an additional reinforcement, than a diminution of its numbers. The same reasons which then induced me to write as I did, do still exist; and with this important addition, that the regiment I then contended to keep at home was nevertheless taken away, and no succedaneum found out to remedy the evil. Since that time I fear the state of the infantry is little mended; for though we have recruiting parties from all the regiments in every part of Great Britain, yet we have had but very bad success (except for one battalion of the royals), either for the number, goodness, or size of the men enlisted.

Though I do not think, in the present situation of affairs, whilst there is so great a fleet at sea, and descents are daily making upon different parts of the French coasts, that there is any fear of an immediate invasion of Ireland; yet, when the season of the year shall render it imprudent to carry on these operations under the protection of a

1758. great fleet any longer, it is very possible, under the favour of long nights, for the French to throw over in small craft such a number of troops as may surprise Cork, or other considerable seaports on the neighbouring coasts to them; or, which is still more dangerous, land such a body as may be sufficient, in those popish and disaffected counties, to make a place of arms, and transfer the seat of war from their own coasts into the south-west of Ireland, in the wild parts of Munster and Connaught. They may very possibly be provoked to a bold stroke of this nature, by a spirit of retaliation for the insults and losses they have sustained, and out of a point of honour to be avenged of us, in a like manner in which they have been treated by us. And I think it my duty to represent to the King and his ministers, that I hold it very dangerous, by a weakening of our force in Ireland, to tempt them to any enterprise of this nature. That I may not be thought to raise difficulties against any measure his Majesty may be pleased to take upon groundless apprehensions, I must beg your leave, Sir, to take up a little more of your time, to evince the reasonableness of what I have asserted.

In the first place, the distance from the coasts of Brittany is so little to the southern parts of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, that it is a very easy matter, when our fleet shall be shut up in the channel by a long westerly or south-west wind, to throw over a considerable body of infantry, either for a *coup de*

main, or to make a lodgement in the country. 1758.
And in the second place, I will take it upon me to affirm, though it is contrary to the received opinion, that there is no country more capable of subsisting, even during the winter season, a body of foreign infantry, than the province of Munster, which is full of fat cattle during the best part of the winter, and of potatoe-grounds appended to each cottage, which will entirely answer to the troops instead of bread; and being at that season of the year in the ground, are not by any means to be carried off or destroyed, as magazines of corn may be. I am sorry to be forced to add, that the whole country is so full of disaffected inhabitants, that the enemy could not be in want either of supplies of provision or succours and intelligence of every kind. There is, besides this danger of a foreign enemy, which cannot, I think, be too much guarded against, another very strong consideration with me, which is, the preserving the internal peace of the country, which I am sorry to be obliged to say cannot well be secured without a strong military force; and the number of troops obliged to be constantly kept in Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Galway, for the security of the Protestant inhabitants, takes up necessarily such a number of our small pittance, that it is excessively difficult to find sufficient to put into the other garrisons, and to support in the outports and different parts of the country the officers of the revenue. I should inform you, Sir, that the whole number of effective

1758. men in the infantry amounts upon paper to about 7000; and I must submit it to better judgments, whether it can be supposed that that number is more than sufficient for the security of Ireland.

But lest the arguments I have made use of should not have the weight with others which they seem to me to deserve; and as his Majesty has directed me to settle with his ministers, whether any, and if any, what force shall be sent from Ireland, I must beg leave still to take up some more of your time to chalk out what I think may be done with the least inconvenience, provided it shall be decided to send some forces from Ireland to the coast of Africa. Lord Forbes's regiment consists of two battalions, of six hundred men each; has been raised entirely in Ireland, under the strongest restrictions that could possibly be given that none but Protestants should be enlisted, and is (as I am informed) a very fine body of men. They are now, I think, pretty near complete; and I believe three or four hundred men might be draughted from them, and the regiment be recruited up before next summer, to its establishment of twelve hundred men. But if (which I hope will not be the case) a body of six hundred men should be required, I think it would be advisable for his Majesty to send away the youngest battalion, and to order another regiment of one battalion, and consisting of seven hundred privates, on the footing of other regiments on our establishment, to be raised in order to supply the deficiency occasioned thereby. I should endeavour, in that case, to get

as many men as I could raised in Great Britain during the course of the winter, and the residue to be raised in the Protestant counties of Ulster. I have now fully laid before you my opinion relative to the message you sent me by Mr. Rigby, and I shall endeavour, to the best of my abilities, to carry such orders into execution as his Majesty shall be pleased to direct. 1758.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE LORD PRIMATE OF IRELAND.

Woburn Abbey, August 31. 1758.

I am much obliged to your Grace for the communication of the steps you intend to take in communicating, not only to the Lords Justices, but such other material persons as you shall judge proper, such parts of my letter to you concerning Prince Ferdinand's pension as may tend to quiet their minds, should any uneasiness manifest itself in Ireland upon this gracious mark of his Majesty's favour to H. Highness. I am glad to find that you think my representations were not improper, and that the opinion of the bulk of the wisest of the nation coincides with mine against an unnecessary profusion of the money in the treasury. Upon my return to Ireland I shall be very glad to canvass this point more fully with your Grace than

1758. it is possible to do in writing, and shall refer you for an answer to the latter part of your letter to a separate one of mine, which will be brought you by Captain Cowley.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE LORD PRIMATE OF IRELAND.

(Separate.)

Woburn Abbey, August 31. 1758.

Your Grace having in your letter of the 15th instant expressed so warm a desire that the Earl of Belvedere's request to the Lords Justices of being appointed a joint governor of the county of Westmeath with the Earl of Westmeath might be complied with, and having likewise informed me of your Grace's answer to this request, "that you would not in the case of your nearest friend depart from the engagement you was under to me, of not making any alteration in the situation of things in Ireland, especially in county matters, except where vacancies were necessarily to be filled up," I think myself obliged to acknowledge your Grace's candour, and strictness to your engagements, in this answer, and likewise to give you my reasons why I do not think it proper that their Excellencies the Lords Justices should join the Earl of Belvedere in the commission as a joint governor of the county with the Earl of Westmeath. In the first place, it has never

been usual, when a peer has been governor of a county to add another in the commission; and the only instances at present of a peer being jointly in commission with another person are in the county Donegal, where Lord Viscount Conyngham and Sir Ralph Gore are joint governors, and the Queen's county, where Lord Knapton has two others in the commission with him; but these were, as I conceive, done before either of those lords were created peers. I must likewise observe, that should I give way to the pretensions set forth by the Earl of Belvedere, of his having a larger property in the county than the Earl of Westmeath has, and thereby having a right to claim a share of that power which Government has already entrusted with him, I fear I should lay myself and the Lords Justices open to such solicitations as must inevitably bring on much confusion and disagreement; and I very much apprehend that even in the county of Kilkenny, where the Lords Justices have appointed so proper a governor, and one so much to my own liking, I should have this argument of Lord Belvedere's made use of on my next return to Ireland for adding another person to the government of that county. And I must likewise beg leave to put your Grace in mind that just upon my departure from Ireland, application having been made to me to add two gentlemen, very good and entire friends of mine, to the gentleman who is at present governor of the county of Leitrim, I did, on your Grace's desire, who I believe very justly thought a step of 1758.

1758. this kind might, at that juncture, savour of partiality to one set of men, desist from doing it, and persuaded those gentlemen to decline what they then had a right to insist on from me. The Earl of Belvedere is pleased to say that the appointment of the Earl of Westmeath by the late Lords Justices, under the Duke of Devonshire was partial, and an act of marked unkindness to him, not recollecting, as I presume, that in that very administration he was created an earl of Ireland. I shall take very little notice of the mention made of the recent conversion from Popery of the Earl of Westmeath making the preference given to him still more irksome; and as my predecessor, I am convinced, believed as I do that it was a sincere one, I think this mark of confidence which he was pleased to give one of so old and noble a family a very well-judged measure, and I can by no means think of depreciating that favour which Government had before so properly given. I must moreover observe to your Grace, that in a conversation I had with Lord Belvedere in relation to the county of Westmeath in particular, and to the internal policy of Ireland in general, I found myself taxed with partiality in the nomination of sheriffs, and a thorough dislike in his lordship to a great many gentlemen who had behaved in regard to Government in a proper and respectful manner, but whom he declared to me he looked upon as his political enemies. This, and his application to the Lords Justices without any previous communication to me, must necessarily

make me apprehensive that I am not so much in favour with his lordship as I really wish to be, which I am sure your Grace is sensible that could I obtain it upon any reasonable terms I should most gladly embrace them. I will trouble your Grace no longer, but to request your mediation with his lordship that my refusal of this his request may not be construed as personal to him, but founded solely upon the reason above mentioned; and that I shall be glad of having proper opportunities of convincing him how much I desire his friendship and assistance towards carrying on the King's business in Ireland. 1758.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. PITT.

(Private and secret.)

Woburn Abbey, September 2. 1758.

Sir,

I am just now honoured with your private and secret despatch, and I think myself much obliged to you for the early communication you have been pleased to give me, of a measure * which so nearly concerns his Majesty's subjects in Ireland. The exporting provisions, next to the linen manufacture, is the staple commodity of that kingdom, and should never be embargoed but on the most weighty occasions, which I can make no doubt is

* An embargo on all ships in Ireland laden with beef and pork.

1758. the case at present. Give me leave to congratulate you on the good news received from the King of Prussia; and to assure you that I am, with great regard, &c.

BEDFORD.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Pay Office, nine o'clock, Monday night, September 4. 1758.

I am very much obliged to your Grace for the perusal of so much very sensible correspondence as you have been kind enough to communicate to me, and which I found here on my return from Mistley last night. I was at court to-day; had *kisses* both from the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt of congratulation upon the great event of the King of Prussia's victory*, of which no second account is yet arrived. Mr. Pitt never mentioned to me the having received your Grace's letter, though Lord Holdernesse told me he had seen it; from whence I conjecture it is not yet determined if they shall take any or what number of troops from Ireland. But of this I meant to send your Grace advice by to-morrow night's post; by which I possibly may hear if any thing should be determined amongst them. And I only now write

* Battle of Zorndorf; gained by the King of Prussia over the Russians.

by this express to tell your Grace that I had not a word said to me of the embargo, but by Lord Granville when he came from council, who desired I should lose no time in forwarding the order to you by express, and that your Grace would please to do the like from Buxton to Dublin. 1758.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, December 7. 1758.

The events here are not numerous, or of much consequence. We yesterday, in the House of Commons, voted nem. con. ninety-one thousand men for the army for 1759. We want, indeed, ten thousand within a very few hundreds to recruit our several corps; and, as far as I can find, there is to be no bill this session to raise recruits by any new method.

Sir John Philips moved, and Mr. Beckford seconded, a vote of thanks to Admiral Boscawen and Mr. Amherst for their services in North America; and George Townshend proposed the same reward for Admiral Osborne, which the House also came into. Mr. Pitt spoke* in answer

* Mr. Pitt made the most artful speech he ever made: provoked, called for, defied objections; promised enormous expense; demanded never to be judged by events. Universal silence left him arbiter of his own terms. In short, at present he is absolute master, and if he can coin twenty millions may command them.—*Walpole Letters*, vol. ii. p. 416.

1759. to some things which fell from Philips and Beckford concerning the never giving up Louisburg; and had as much good sense and judgment in what he said as he generally has eloquence. I pressed your Grace's scheme of raising marines in Ireland very much yesterday in a discourse I had with him; and it is to be carried into immediate execution. Col. Paterson of the marines was with me this morning, by his and Lord Anson's direction, to lay the means of bringing this scheme to bear before your Grace, which I shall do when I have the pleasure to see you.

It is said that the York election goes against Thornton. Sir George Saville will be chose for the county without opposition.

Forester took his seat in the House of Commons to-day.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Newcastle House, March 15. 1759.

I should have waited upon your Grace this morning, if I had not been prevented by several appointments upon business, and by my necessary attendance this day at the Treasury. I sent to speak to Mr. Rigby, but by some mistake I believe he had not my message. My chief business was to acquaint your Grace, that I yesterday spoke to the King about Lord B., and with great difficulty procured his Majesty's consent that he should be made an earl; so that your Grace will

have the goodness to carry that as well as your other promotions into execution. 1759.

I have some few other things to lay before your Grace; but as they don't press, I shall not trouble you with them at present, and I shall only add my sincere sense of your Grace's goodness in complying with many applications which I have troubled you with, and the assurances of my being, &c. &c.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE LORD PRIMATE.

Woburn Abbey, May 22. 1759.

I take the opportunity of being here alone (my family not coming down till to-morrow) of informing your Grace fully of all that has passed in relation to Ireland, for this last fortnight, upon the information the administration had received from various quarters of the intention of the French to invade either Great Britain or Ireland, or possibly both at the same time; though Ireland was more particularly mentioned in all the intelligence, and even the Earls of Clare* and Clancarty were named to command the expedition. Upon the weight of this intelligence, an embargo was put

* Charles O'Brien, sixth Viscount Clare of the kingdom of Ireland; see some account of him in Lady Mary Wortley's Letters, vol. ii. p. 153.

1759. against my going into the New Forest, where I had appointed people to meet me on the King's business on Monday the 7th instant, and I attended the meeting of the King's servants at Lord Holdernesse's on Tuesday the 8th. Though there was some difference of opinion amongst the ministers to what degree the intelligence should be credited; yet they did all agree upon the state I laid before them of his Majesty's army in Ireland, and upon the smallness of the force I must necessarily (on account of the many garrisons I must leave in the great towns for the security of the Protestants) put myself at the head of, should the enemy land in any of the south-west parts of Ireland with 5000 men; that too great precaution could not be had to prevent an attempt of this sort; and should it be attempted with success, to preserve at leat Leinster and Ulster from the calamity of becoming the seat of war. It was then resolved, and this resolution has been confirmed at two subsequent meetings which we have since had, to man out the greatest fleet that could possibly be got together, to rendezvous at Torbay, and from thence to stretch over to the coast of France, in order to deter them from any enterprise of this sort, or, should they attempt it, to defeat them in the execution of it. This is undoubtedly a very prudent preventive neasure; but should this by the accidents of winds and weather fail in preventing an invasion, it was judged expedient to advise his Majesty to order a strong body of infantry to be encamped in the Isle

of Wight, with transport vessels to be always in readiness to carry them wherever the danger should be most urgent; but, as the Lords judged that no troops could be spared from hence to Ireland whilst the danger was still impending, and not known where it would fall, it was agreed unanimously that the King's pleasure should be taken about arraying the militia of Ulster, and about sending all absent officers on the military establishment of Ireland to their respective posts, both which his Majesty was pleased to order immediately to be done; and I have it in charge to watch strictly over the execution of his commands, so that I must desire your Grace to see that every thing that is ordered be strictly complied with, and that the officers be not permitted to loiter in Dublin or elsewhere, but that they do all repair immediately to their respective posts. Upon any certain notice of the enemy's intention to land any where in Ireland, I hold myself in readiness to depart at an hour's warning, and to put myself at the head of the few troops we have; but it was not judged expedient, in order to prevent giving too great an alarm, that I should leave this kingdom before it should be absolutely necessary. I must now inform your Grace, that upon my mentioning to the Lords that I feared the marching the Ulster militia out of their province would be very hurtful to trade, and consequently be very disagreeable to the principal people of it, and to the generality of its inhabitants, a suggestion was thrown out whether, to obviate this inconveniency, an 1759.

1759. application should not be made to the nobility and gentry of Ulster, to know whether they would undertake to recruit amongst their friends and tenants two or three thousand men to complete Aldercron's regiment, and two weak battalions, not containing above 150 or 200 men each, which should be sent from hence, the men to be enlisted for three years or to the end of the war, and not to serve out of the kingdom. This thing I have, at their Lorships' desire, mentioned to the Earls of Hertford and Hillsborough, and they have promised me to endeavour to get a meeting of the considerable people of that province who are in London, in order to see what can be done. Your Grace being undoubtedly the first man of that province, your example must necessarily have great weight with all who have concerns there. I have already taken up a great deal of your time upon this subject, and I believe I need not remind you, that it is indispensably necessary to have every thing that relates to the army and all military operations in readiness, that I may be able instantly to take the field should the enemy make good their threats of landing any where in Ireland; and I trust the Lords Justices will give the necessary orders for preparing every thing that may be wanted, without waiting for the return of orders from England.

I cannot conclude this long letter without expressing my concern to your Grace in seeing, as well by private accounts as by the public papers, the unbridled licentiousness of the lower class of

people in Ireland, as well in town as country, more particularly the atrocious behaviour of the mob of Dublin towards those who came from England to buy cattle in Ireland, in pursuance of leave given by an act passed this session. Indeed, if the mob are suffered to control and disappoint what the legislature of this country has permitted, Ireland will soon degenerate into its ancient barbarism, and spurn equally at the laws which shall be enacted by its own parliament. 1759.

LORD PRIMATE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Dublin, May 28. 1759.

Yesterday, at Leixlip, I had the honour of receiving your Grace's letter of the 22d of May from Woburn Abbey. Your Grace's goodness in communicating so minutely the measures concerted in England with regard to this country, and your watchful care for it protection, are most sensibly felt and acknowledged.

My Lord Shannon*, as your Grace may have observed from the course of our letters, is gone to the country for his usual refreshment in the summer months; not apprehending when he went any business of so serious a nature as what has since

* Henry, Earl of Shannon, one of the Lords Justices.

1759. occurred. The Speaker happened to be with me at Leixlip when your Grace's letter arrived; and Lord Rothes, having received commands from your Grace by the same post, came there also; so that we had an opportunity of immediately considering together of what it was our duty to do; and the Speaker and I came to town in the evening, that no time might be lost in carrying into execution what our thoughts had suggested to us.

The precaution taking, of sending out a great fleet, will in all probability prove an effectual security against an invasion of either kingdom. But as it has been thought expedient in England to order a strong body of infantry to be encamped in the Isle of Wight, with transport vessels to carry them wheresoever the danger should be most urgent, which must be considered as a provision made there eventually for the defence of this kingdom, we think we must be unpardonable if we failed in putting the small force that is here into the best posture and readiest state of preparation to answer your Grace's purposes, should it become necessary for your Grace to put yourself at the head of it.

Your Grace knows that just at this time all the regiments, both of cavalry and foot, are drawn together to the respective places where they are to be, and where some of them have been reviewed; from whence they were to march into their several divided quarters, and the horses immediately to be turned to grass, as is the common course in quiet times. We have this day sent directions to them

all to halt in the towns of their respective reviewings until further orders; and the future disposition proposed is according to the rough draught that is here enclosed to your Grace. 1759.

It will, as I conceive, appear from this disposition of the troops that the object in view is not to prevent a landing if it should be attempted,—which seems scarcely possible, considering the extensiveness of the coast where landings by the French are equally practicable and probable; but to keep the troops in such a posture of communication one with the other that they may, either by retreating or advancing, all have it in their power to join in one body, and be always placed between the enemy and the capital, until such time as succour can arrive from England. This seems to us more reasonable than to separate the troops in order to protect particular counties or places, by which the detached troops might be cut off, and one part of the kingdom sufficiently defended.

With regard to the disaffected (under which denomination the Papists alone can be comprehended), I beg leave to hazard my private opinion to your Grace that there is little or no danger to be apprehended from them. This is my firm persuasison, and I would risk all that I am worth upon it. I do not, indeed, doubt but if a French army were to land many single vagabonds would be ready for hire to take arms with them; but I am almost confident the Roman Catholics of property, whether landed or monied, would not

1759. assist, but that they rather fear than wish such an attempt from the French, and that some of them would even give their assistance towards serving his Majesty. I am well acquainted with several of the heads of that people, and I think I know something of their sentiments. If it was left to their free choice, it must be supposed that they would desire a king and an establishment of their own religion. But they are very sensible that if the French now attempt an invasion of his Majesty's kingdoms it will not be for their sakes, nor in order to better their condition; but that if they were to enter into rebellion they would be left a sacrifice without conditions to the necessary consequences of it, as soon as ever other interests merely French could be adjusted. This great consideration of interest, helped perhaps by some impression which I really believe has been made upon them by the long-experienced equity and lenity of his Majesty's Government, must have an effect; and we have so far presumed upon it as to dispose the troops with a view to the invading enemy only, without laying equal stress upon any particular places of supposed disaffection.

We have sent to the Board of Ordnance to inquire whether they can supply the whole camp equipage necessary fo the several encampments marked in the enclosed paper; but we have not yet got the return. If they should fall short, in proportion to the deficiency some of the regiments may be quartered in the towns without varying the

disposition. By next Saturday we hope to give the last orders upon the whole. 1759.

In case the apprehensions should abate (which we extremely wish, and are inclined to believe will happen), the expense incurred will not be very excessive; and the troops will have received some benefit from an exercise in which many of them, being newly enlisted men, are totally inexperienced. And if we have done more than is strictly commanded, we trust that your Grace will not be displeased, as it can only have proceeded from the most earnest desire that your Grace should meet with as little disappointment as possible, should your immediate presence become necessary.

With regard to the northern militia, I am humbly of opinion that your Grace has judged most perfectly right in not ordering them to be called out: they were arrayed in the years 1756 and 1757; the officers appointed, and the men sworn throughout the province of Ulster and county of Louth, and all the returns are in the office. This is all that the Lords Justices understood was intended by your Grace's late letter to them; and that there was nothing left to be done except they were to be drawn out, trained, and arms put into their hands, of which they are not now provided: and the thirty thousand arms in the stores of Dublin, we apprehend, had better be kept there to answer some more efficient purpose. If the Lords Hertford and Hillsborough, and other considerable persons of that province now in London, shall be ready to

1759. countenance recruiting there for weak battalions, I shall give my utmost assistance, as I think it may be done without prejudice, and will be the best way in which your Grace can avail yourself of the general spirit of good affection in that part of the country. Unless also, should the alarms increase, and the troops be wanted in other parts, your Grace might then call up some of that militia to join the militia of Dublin in keeping this city quiet.

We are thoroughly sensible of the licentiousness of the mob; especially in the late instances concerning the exportation of cattle. But I must assure your Grace that if just at this moment the troops had been ordered to act on that occasion, it would by this time have rendered it impossible for us to make the disposition we are now endeavouring to do. When these apprehensions shall have subsided, it will be proper and necessary to take up that consideration.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE NF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, May 30. 1759.

There is no public news of any sort from any foreign part of the world, that I can hear. The domestic is, that yesterday the message was sent to both Houses to inform them of the actual preparation of the French to invade us, and to announce the intention of calling the militia out, if

necessary. Addresses from both Houses were voted in consequence. The one in our House was moved by Pitt, seconded by Norbonne Berkeley; nobody said a word but young Vyner, who did not object to the address, but said the reason why there was not a militia in every county in England was owing to the negligence of the lords lieutenant, and that he thought another address to the King would be proper to exhort the lords lieutenant to do their duty, but he did not think himself of consequence enough to move it.* I thought the business had ended here; and observed to Mr. Pitt, as I went down the House to my Richmond party, that Vyner's observation was by no means just, and instanced your Grace's conduct in Bedfordshire as a proof of it, where you could not get a militia, though you had succeeded in Devonshire. I have heard from many people to-day that Cooke of Middlesex moved such an address, and that it passed; and that Pitt, in speaking upon it, and strongly for it, took perhaps my hint, but however the opportunity of saying it was not always the fault of the Lord Lieutenant, for that one great man, a known friend to militia, had failed in one county, though he had succeeded in another under his own 1759.

* "Pitt made a pompous speech on the delivery of the message, and distinguished between the various kinds of fear: this he said was a magnanimous fear. The address in return was still more lofty. Vyner and Cooke added an address, that his Majesty should quicken such lords lieutenant, as were dilatory with their militias: there were several of them; the measure was far from being generally popular." — *Walpole's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 356.

1759. care and direction. To-day the same Mr. Vyner moved for leave to bring in a bill to alter the present act so far as to enable the several lords lieutenant to call the gentlemen of the counties together, and try if they can persuade them to accept commissions, notwithstanding the clause of postponing all further progress in the act for a year; but nobody seconding him, no notice was taken of it.

I hear and believe that Ligonier is to be Master of the Ordnance. I was with the Speaker this morning about Vernon's vacating his seat in parliament by the clerk of the quit-rents, and from a great deal of knowledge that I collected to-day, I think it is certain that he does not, but he is to consult some more musty records, and to give me his final answer to-morrow in the House. If the oracle should be against us, I hope I sha'n't do wrong to move this writ. You need not tell Shy, but he had six black balls at the old club; Sir J. Lowther last night had one. I was surprised yesterday at seeing the House of Lords full of peers. Ravensworth had alarmed them the day before, when in an empty house, speaking upon a cambric bill, he had talked of an increase of allowance for the Prince of Wales, and they expected it from him again yesterday, but he disappointed them. I can recollect nothing else; but will have the honour of paying my respects to you on Saturday, with such intelligence as I can pick up between this and then, who am, &c.

1759.

MR. SECRETARY PITT TO THE SAME.

(Private.)

St. James's Square, September 4. 1759.

My Lord,

I am honoured with your Grace's private letter of the 2d instant, inclosing a copy of that to Lord Ligonier on the subject of the unhappy and dangerous meeting * at Plymouth. I have the satisfaction to find myself confirmed in the opinion of a necessity of example on that occasion by the concurrence of your Grace's sentiments, and have in consequence recommended immediate orders being sent for the trial of the offenders. The generous offer of your Grace's services (though a trouble no one could think of giving you), cannot but be highly respected as a great instance of zeal for his Majesty and for the public safety.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM PITT.

* A sergeant of the first battalion of the Devonshire militia, commanded by the Duke of Bedford, was confined for selling ale contrary to orders. During the night some of the men released him by force, and having given three cheers swore that not a man of the militia should be confined; the mutiny appears to have been very serious, and was not quelled until three of the rioters had been wounded.

1759.

LORD LIGONIER TO THE SAME.

London, September 11, 1759.

My Lord,

I am honoured with your Grace's letter of the 31st August. The King has been pleased to order the mutineers at Plymouth to be tried by a general court-martial. I am apt to think the King will be of the same sentiment with your Grace in making one example and showing his clemency to the rest. The King will not think it necessary for your Grace to give yourself the trouble of going down, as the affair is now put into the regular course of trial.

I have the honour to acquaint your Grace, that his Majesty yesterday gave Lord George Sackville's regiment to Lieut.-General Waldegrave as a mark of his favour for the services he performed at the battle of Minden. By this a regiment of horse in Ireland becomes vacant.

I have, &c.

LIGONIER.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. SECRETARY PITT.

Dublin Castle, November 1. 1759.

In my letter to you of the 19th of last month, I acknowledged the receipt of yours of the 10th of the same, and therein explained to you the

difficulties I apprehended I should find in completing the several regiments of infantry in this kingdom, to the number they should amount to, on their respective establishments. I find the recruiting in Ulster has of late gone on very slowly, and I am informed by Colonel Brown, who is just returned from that province, that the assistance he has received from the noblemen and gentlemen there has been very inconsiderable, nay, hardly worthy to be mentioned. I hope and believe that in the hither parts of that province, particularly in the county of Down, more industry has been used in raising men than in the more distant counties. 1759.

The difficulty in raising men for the other regiments, which are either in this capital, or cantoned to the southward of it, will still be greater than for the regiments in Ulster, as I have been obliged, in order to strengthen them, to recal the parties which were recruiting in Great Britain, and I have no adequate *succedaneum* left, the southern parts of this kingdom being very bare of Protestants.

In this situation, with regard to completing the army, and in relation to the panic, which would have universally spread amongst the Protestants in this capital, and consequently in the whole kingdom upon the arrival of the messenger you sent me, which was instantly universally known, had the despatch he brought me been kept secret, I found myself necessitated to call together the King's principal servants here and to communicate to them the intelligence I had received from you, who were

1759. unanimously of opinion, that no time should be lost in communicating it to both Houses of Parliament, immediately upon their coming together after the short recess which is usual here after their first meeting, in order to give time for the return of the several members who shall have been elected upon vacancies, and of such others, as their influence in the several parts of the kingdom might have caused to have been absent on such an occasion. It did likewise appear to me and to all those I consulted with, that I could in no other way carry so effectually his Majesty's orders into execution, and animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland to exert their well-known zeal and spirit, in support of his Majesty's government. In pursuance of this, I accordingly acquainted by message both Houses on Monday last with the intelligence I had received, in which I used such expressions as I judged would be most conducive to effect the end proposed in your letter to me, viz. of the defence of all that is most dear to them, by a timely preparation to resist and frustrate any attempts of the enemy to disturb the quiet, and to shake the security of this kingdom. I have the honour to enclose you copies of the message I sent to each House of Parliament, as likewise copies of the addresses which were brought up to me yesterday in consequence thereof, and I have the satisfaction to be able to assure you, that there never at any time appeared a greater spirit for the defence of their King and country, and a greater harmony and union amongst each other, than in

the present Parliament. I trust there cannot be a greater proof of this assertion, than in the unmerited confidence they have placed in his Majesty's chief governor here, which I can ascribe to nothing but their unbounded trust in his Majesty, that he will not suffer what they have so liberally granted to be diverted, on any pretence whatsoever, to any other purpose than the defence of these kingdoms. 1759.

I have, in order to secure the public credit of the kingdom, and to be able at all times to have a sufficient quantity of specie to pay the troops, and to answer all other contingencies incident on war, procured an association to be entered into, and which I have signed myself, and which will I doubt not be signed by the principal of the nobility, gentry, and merchants now in this city, to establish the credit of the several bankers here, by engaging to take their notes and negotiable draughts in all payments, which will undoubtedly have the effect intended of preventing cash from being hoarded up in private hands, and consequently will enable me, upon any emergency, to supply the army with whatever sum may be granted in specie: to which advantage this should be added — the great security this will give to traders in general, and I may say to each individual in the nation, which never suffered more than by the failure of some few great bankers, not many years ago.

I hope in a short time to be able to transmit to you some proposals fit to be laid before his Majesty upon the principles of those adopted in England,

1759. for raising a body of infantry, and another of light horse for the defence of this kingdom, and even of any other part of his Majesty's British dominions, should they be attacked; but as they are not yet sufficiently digested, I shall not be able to transmit them by this packet, but I assure you I will lose no time in forwarding them to you, whenever they shall be brought to such a consistence as I shall judge them to be proper to be laid before the King for his approbation. I wish at the same time some expedient could be hit upon to raise the 1600 men now wanting to complete the regiments of foot; but as nothing of that kind does occur to me at present, I know of no other resource but that of raising new corps, which can be only effected by giving the nobility and gentry of this kingdom the like encouragements which have been given in Great Britain, to engage them by rank and other emoluments to prevail on their tenants and dependents to enter into the army, and thereby bring into it a better class and rank of people than would otherwise enlist themselves into it, but on such an emergency as the present one, and under the command of their own landlords and neighbours.

The want of young and active general officers on this establishment, is what I feel very much; and I hope his Majesty will permit me to recommend to him through your channel such as I shall be able to find here, whom I shall think proper to act under me, to be placed on the staff on this establishment; and I hope to be able in a post or two to send you the names of those I recommend.

I hold myself in constant readiness to take the field on the very first notice of the enemy's appearing upon any of these coasts, and I have so posted some advanced parties, without any danger of their being cut off from the main army (which in this case I intend to assemble at Clonmell), as possibly to make their landing difficult, should they attempt it, either in the counties of Cork or Kerry, both of which are counties full of strong posts and defiles, or, should that be impossible, to impede them in their march, and thereby gain time to march with the main army to prevent their taking possession of Cork, which is a place of the utmost consequence to defend, as well, on the one hand, on account of the revenue it constantly brings in to his Majesty, as, on the other, the great utility a city and port of that consequence would be to the enemy. 1759.

MR. SECRETARY PITT TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, November 2. 1759.

Your Grace's letter of the 19th past, by Butson the messenger, was immediately laid before the King, and his Majesty heard with satisfaction, that the encampment of the troops, as well infantry as dragoons, and the keeping the officers of those regiments which were not encamped closer to their duty than was formerly practised, has had the desired effect, by restoring discipline to those regi-

1759. ments which wanted it before, and confirming the others in a greater degree in what they were before deficient; at the same time, I must not conceal from your Grace the King's extreme disappointment to find that, after all the promised efforts on the part of the principal noblemen and gentlemen of great property, there remained wanting on the 1st of October, to complete the infantry to their present establishment, 1666 men; by this it appears, that the spontaneous zeal of the city of London alone has, within an equal period of time, raised more men at their own expense for completing his Majesty's forces in this time of public danger, than the whole kingdom of Ireland. As to the zeal of his Majesty's Protestant subjects in that country, no doubt can possibly be entertained of the sincerity of it; but the almost total inefficacy of that zeal, though ever so real, in a conjuncture like the present, and such an unfortunate incredulity and supineness in consequence of it, after so strong and so frequent warnings of danger, cannot but administer here much just grounds of wonder and concern. The kingdom of Ireland, if it will call forth and exert its resources, is, by its wealth, and by the number and courage of its Protestant subjects, well able to repel and defeat, *proprio marte*, any attempts of the enemy, which may happen to be made there; nor is it prudent for their own sakes, or reasonable in itself, that the Protestant people of Ireland should, in such a critical and decisive conjuncture as the present, withhold their

efforts and sit still till a descent be actually made upon them unprepared, trusting that then reinforcements from Great Britain (who may in that moment be herself the object of actual invasion) are at once to be sent to put an end to a war which a timely exertion of their own intrinsic strength might have totally prevented, or at once repelled. It must be admitted that the looms and manufactures are most deservedly tender points to the proprietors of lands in that opulent kingdom; but it must not be forgot there, that besides all the other immense efforts made by Great Britain on this arduous and most extensive war, the militia of England, amounting at this time to above 14,000 men in actual service, and headed by gentlemen of the best families and properties in the kingdom, have been out from their several counties, many of them from before haymaking and harvest, and are still living from their homes and serving without a murmur. 1759.

The King has the most entire reliance on your Grace's distinguished ardour and experienced ability in his service; and his Majesty doubts not but you will use all proper endeavours, by infusing a just degree of salutary fear, of prevention, not of consternation, to awaken and call up into activity the known zeal and spirits of his faithful subjects of the kingdom of Ireland, to enable your Grace, by a timely preparation, to resist any attempts of the enemy to disturb the peace of that country.

1759.

MR. SECRETARY PITT TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, November 13. 1759.

My Lord,

I have received the honour of your Grace's letter of the 1st instant, and immediately laid it before the King.

The particular business arising from the meeting of Parliament, makes it impossible for me at present to enlarge on the several important matters contained in your Grace's letter; but I would not defer acquainting your Grace, that his Majesty entirely approves your having laid before the two Houses of Parliament the intelligence I had transmitted to you, and the unanimity, zeal, and spirit expressed in their addresses to your Grace could not fail of being highly agreeable to the King.

I shall expect with impatience the proposals which your Grace mentions, for raising a body of infantry and another of light horse for the defence of Ireland; and as soon as your Grace shall transmit the same, I shall not lose a moment in laying them before his Majesty, and acquainting your Grace with the King's pleasure thereupon.

His Majesty was particularly pleased to observe the unlimited confidence which the two Houses of Parliament have so prudently reposed in your Grace, whose known experience and abilities will now be able to exert themselves in the fullest manner, in making ample and effectual provisions for

the security and necessary defence of the kingdom entrusted to your Grace's care. 1759.

I have the further satisfaction to acquaint your Grace, that the King particularly approves your attention to public credit, and the very prudent step you have taken for the support thereof, and for securing such a supply of specie, as may in case of exigency be necessary for the payment of the troops.

I have transmitted to the Lords of the Admiralty what your Grace mentions with regard to some ships of force and frigates being kept cruizing from Waterford to the Bay of Galway; and I don't doubt but their Lordships will, as far as may be practicable, show all due attention to what your Grace has so properly suggested.

I am, &c.

W. Pitt.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Claremont, November 18. 1759.

I received on Thursday last the honour of your Grace's letter of the 11th, and the next day I recommended to the King your Grace's request that Mr. Rigby might succeed the late Master of the Rolls. His Majesty was pleased very readily to consent to it, and when I came out of the closet, I

1759. acquainted Mr. Pitt with it, who was very glad to hear it, and will forthwith prepare the necessary instruments for it, and I suppose they will go by the messenger to-morrow; nothing can be a more real satisfaction to me, than to have an opportunity of obeying your Grace's commands, and of contributing the little that depends upon me, to give your Grace all the weight, power, and influence which your zeal for the King's service, your ability and success in the conduct of his Majesty's affairs in Ireland, and your own great and distinguished merit and consequence so justly entitle you to; and I am persuaded, whatever other disagreeable incidents may have happened, his Majesty has too great a regard for your Grace, and his servants too much duty to him, and concern for the King's interest, to give any occasion to the people of Ireland to imagine that any lord-lieutenant had more the confidence and support of the King, or the good wishes of his minister, than your Grace has, at least I hope you cannot doubt mine, and I think I may answer for others. Your Grace will make me always happy, when you put it in my power to shew my readiness to obey your commands. I read with great pleasure and indeed approbation your Grace's message * to both Houses, and their dutiful and affectionate returns, which Mr. Rigby sent me in his letters of the 1st inst. They were highly approved by everybody here, and cannot fail to have the best effect in Ire-

* The message with the answer are both printed in the *Annua Register*, for 1759, p. 124.

land. I am extremely concerned for the run upon the two banks mentioned by your Grace. Though Mitchel has shut up his shop, we are told here that he has effects likely to answer all demand upon him. I should hope the association so properly proposed by your Grace, and so successfully carried through by the members of both Houses, would prevent any further breach or real public calamity. The want of specie is the complaint both here and in Ireland, and was severely felt by us the last year. I thank God it is something better now from the coming in of the fleets. The height of our credit from the great and surprising successes of this last year, and lately from the happy circumstance of the exportation of our corn, but as immense sums must necessarily go out of the kingdom as long as the war lasts, for the support of our fleets and armies in the several parts of the world, I am afraid we shall not be able to promise much specie from hence; neither (if there was a sufficient quantity) do I know the method of doing it. I hope there will be no occasion for it; but if your Grace should apprehend there will be any, I wish you would let me know in what manner, or for what purposes, and on what security you propose the treasury should do it. My duty to the King will always dispose me to assist whenever the interest of his government may require it, and my real regard to your Grace will always induce me to do any thing in my power to assist you in your government, I only want to have the means and to see the practicability of doing

1759.

1759. it. There are three Dutch mails come in last night: I have had very short accounts of what they bring. They all agree that M. Conflans has orders to sail; some say he was to sail on the 3d of this month; and I think it is now given out more positively that the design is on Ireland: but your Grace will certainly hear if it is so from Mr. Secretary Pitt. Thurot is drove to Gottenburg. It seems most probable that he was really to have made some attempt on the coast of Scotland. It is thought almost impossible M. Conflans should escape Sir E. Hawke, who is returned some days ago to Torbay. As to fighting him, which is given out by the French, my Lord Anson treats that as the idlest of all notions: we have now such a strong naval force at home, Holmes and Dulel being returned from North America, and Saunders expected every day, that if a superiority at sea can prevent his Majesty's kingdoms from invasion, it must, by the blessing of God, be done. Your Grace has done all that can be done to put Ireland in a posture of defence, and I doubt not but it will succeed: I dare say, whatever plans you have or may send over for that purpose, will be approved: and the loyal parliament of Ireland has engaged to provide for the payment of them, a thing, I believe, new in Ireland, which consequently shows your Grace's power and influence, and their zeal. I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing any plans your Grace may have sent over. We have been for some days taken up by an unfortunate incident, which might have occasioned great

difficulties and distress in the King's affairs. My Lord Temple, on an apprehension of being under the King's displeasure, resigned his office of privy seal, but upon proper explanations has not only taken it again, but I think all cause of discontent is not only removed, but an appearance, and indeed I hope a real one, of true union and harmony amongst the King's servants than there was before that incident happened. 1760.

MR. SECRETARY PITT TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, January 5. 1760.

My Lord,

Your Grace having desired to put me in mind that you acquainted not only myself, but the rest of the Lords, at a meeting last spring, on the subject of the threatened invasion, that you considered the kingdom of Ireland, on the experience of your residence there, as a country where laws had lost all energy, magistracy all authority, and even parliament itself all reverence, and that nothing but military force could be coercive, to restrain the subject within due obedience; I cannot omit thereupon to acquaint your Grace, that, according to my memory, as well as that of other Lords of the Council, concerning what then passed, the great danger stated by your Grace to the Lords, to be apprehended for Ireland, turned principally, if not solely, on the excessive superiority in number of Papists over Protestants, and on the want of more

1760. military force in Ireland, and accordingly the most speedy and effectual augmentation of the latter has ever since been the constant object of the orders I have had the honour from time to time to transmit to your Grace.

With regard to the causes of the late outrages, I cannot but remark that, considering your Grace mentions this riot to have taken its rise in the Earl of Meath's liberty, chiefly inhabited by Protestant weavers, there is still more pregnant grounds to apprehend that the money transactions of Mr. Malone and Mr. Clements have probably been one fatal ingredient among others observed by your Grace towards distempering and revolting the minds of a manufacturing multitude, who (though nothing can extenuate the guilt of such an insurrection), may perhaps have felt in their trade the consequence of such a scandalous and iniquitous business, which continues here to be viewed in the same light, and to stand the object of public animadversion.*

It is with great concern I observe your Grace thinks there is cause to consider any one class of

* An account of this outbreak, most probably greatly exaggerated, will be found in *Walpole's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 401.; according to his account the riot was most serious in the Earl of Meath's liberties: a letter from Mr. Rigby to Mr. Pitt, giving an account of it, will also be found in the *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 468. This, with the other letters in this collection, will entirely disprove Walpole's assertion that "the Duke of Bedford and Rigby, in their letters to England, carefully concealed the enormity of the outrage." Mr. Malone and Mr. Clements were partners in a bank that stopped payment on the alarm of invasion.

presbyterians in Ireland as averse to English government, and therefore at least equally with papists to be guarded against; I am not very particularly acquainted with the distinctive tenets of the sect among them, mentioned by your Grace, but it highly imports government to reflect, however blameworthy the too rigid adherence of the presbyterians to some things, may justly be thought in comparison of the excellence of the church of England, that nevertheless the presbyterian dissenters in general, must ever deserve to be considered, in opposition to the church of Rome, as a very valuable branch of the reformation, and that with regard to their civil principles, that respectable body have in all times shewed themselves, both in England and Ireland, firm and zealous supporters of the glorious revolution under king William, and of the present happy establishment. 1760.

I am, &c.

W. PITT.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. SECRETARY PITT.

Dublin Castle, January 19. 1760.

Sir,

I am now to answer the several particulars contained in your despatch to me of the 5th instant, as far as I have been hitherto able, to execute his Majesty's commands contained therein.

1760. I have the pleasure to be able to inform you, that every thing continues perfectly quiet in this city, and that though during the license of the holydays, affrays of a private nature had occasionally happened during the night in the streets of this disorderly town, yet nothing that had the least tendency to public commotion had appeared during that period, and I have reason to believe, that, by the apprehending of some of those disturbers of the internal peace of this city, the entire quiet of it will be soon restored. I am using my utmost endeavours to bring to condign punishment the perpetrators of the atrocious riot of the 3d of December, and I have so far an expectation of success, that I have obtained information upon oath against several persons of the lower class and chiefly papists, who were concerned in it, and it is possible I may be able, before I close this despatch, to give you some account of my proceedings. I can assure you I will leave no stone unturned to bring the offenders to justice.

In obedience to his Majesty's commands, signified to me by you, that the late wilful and shameful inexertion of the magistrates of this city, during the commotion of the 3d of last month, should be taken up and inquired into by the executive power, I called a meeting on Monday last, of the King's servants learned in the law, to whom I communicated, under the seal of secresy, such parts of your despatch to me, as related to the subject now before me, the ordering proper legal proceedings to

be commenced against the magistrates of this city, for their not exerting themselves in quelling the riot, according to the duty of their several posts. The only two possible methods of proceeding appeared to us all to be either by *quo warranto* against the franchises of the city, or by indicting the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, on personal acts of misdemeanour, for the non-execution of the trust reposed in them, and as to the first (should his Majesty be advised to order an attempt of that sort to be made) there seemed to be an unniversal opinion, it could not be possible to carry it through with success; and as to the second, they declined for the present the giving any positive opinion upon the success of it, till a state of the evidence of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs not having done their duty, could be drawn up for their consideration, as upon the strength of that evidence, must depend the probability or improbability of the success of the prosecution. And here two difficulties occurred; the first, of finding sufficient evidence to convict any of them by a jury, by the unwillingness and timidity of those without doors to appear as evidences against them, for their conduct during the riot before the Parliament house, and of the impropriety of most of those who were of the Privy Council, and whom I had summoned in my own chamber, and who were present when I offered the Lord Mayor the assistance of the troops, which he refused, to appear in a court of justice as evidence against this magistrate, to which must be added the total impossibility

1760.

1760. (considering the station in which his Majesty has been pleased to place me in this kingdom) of my appearing in a court of justice in this affair, who would otherwise, be the most material evidence against the Mayor and Sheriffs, there having been no one present but them and myself when I gave them the orders mentioned in my letter. The other difficulty was the drawing up with the secresy that was necessary in conducting an affair of this nature, a state of the evidence, sufficient for the lawyers to found a formal opinion on, but this was obviated by the zeal of Mr. Solicitor-General, who offered to undertake jointly with my secretary, Mr. Rigby, this task. As soon as this shall be done, and the King's servants learned in the law shall have delivered to me their opinion thereupon, I will not lose a moments' time in transmitting it to you, and shall wait without proceeding any further, or even suffering the secret to transpire, till I shall have received from you the orders his Majesty shall be pleased to give me, for my farther proceeding in this affair.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

1760.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. SECRETARY PITT.

Dublin Castle, February 23. 1760.

Sir,

Yesterday morning a little before 11 o'clock I received a letter by flying packet from Major-General Strode, a copy of which I enclose you, informing me that a body of French, supposed to be about 1000 men were landed at Carrickfergus, on Thursday morning last, which place is distant eight Irish miles from Belfast, where the Major-General now resides. Immediately upon receipt of this intelligence, I gave orders for the assembling with the utmost expedition four regiments of infantry, viz. Pole's, Anstruther's, Sandford's and Sebright's, and three regiments of dragoons, viz. Mostyn's, Yorke's, and Whitley's at Newry, and I make no doubt, that should the French be hardy enough to hazard themselves at any distance from their ships, the troops I shall be able to get together in a very few days, will be more than sufficient to protect the country from any violence, and to drive them out of this country. But, unfortunately, as there were no more troops in that part of the country where the enemy now is, but a few companies of Strode's and Browne's regiment, sufficient to guard the French prisoners who were sent there from the South, at the time the expedition under Duke d'Aiguillon was expected in that part of the kingdom, I fear Belfast, which is, I believe, the richest town in this kingdom, after Dublin and

1760. Cork, must inevitably fall into their hands, and probably contributions may be levied on Lisburne, Hilsborough, and the further parts of the county of Down. Neither I nor any other person in this city received any further intelligence of this matter, till half past seven this morning, when I received a second letter from Major-General Strode, a copy of which is here enclosed, by which you will perceive that Lieutenant-Colonel Jennings, has suffered himself* with four companies of Strode's under his command, to be made prisoners of war. I am sorry not to be able to send you a more circumstantial account of this affair, but as Major-General Strode is not on the staff here, I propose sending off immediately to Newry, Major-General Fitzwilliam, of whose intelligence in his profession, and of whose zeal in his Majesty's service I have an high opinion. I hope his Majesty will approve the steps I have taken, and will not think I have sent too small a force to oppose the enemy, as it is absolutely necessary to keep a strong garrison in this city; and Cork and many of the other parts of this kingdom must not be left unguarded, as very

* Walpole says, "ridiculous as this campaign was, it was no joke to the Duke of Bedford; Jennings and his puny force had shown themselves willing to do their utmost. The success of Thurot was a glaring comment on the negligence of his Grace's administration."—*Memoirs*, vol ii. p. 423. The letters in this collection will prove the falsity of Walpole's charge of negligence. The activity of the Irish government is further confirmed by the correspondence with Sir Robert Wilmot at this period. It appears, indeed, that the detachment at Carrickfergus was deficient in ammunition, but that want can hardly be imputed as a fault to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

probably this very insignificant disembarkation may be only the prelude of some greater, and meant to take off my attention, from an object of more moment. This is what you must infallibly be better judges of in England, where you have more intelligence than it is possible for any of us here to have, and I shall, therefore, impatiently wait for letters from you, as well to know whether his Majesty shall be graciously pleased to approve what I have done, and likewise to hear, whether you conceive there is a likelihood of an attack in any other quarter of the kingdom. For God's sake let us have upon the coasts a few frigates and sloops. 1760.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF ROTHES.

Dublin Castle, February 25. 1760.

As I find there is a great uneasiness in this town, and an apprehension of a run on the banks occasioned by the warlike preparations made for the North, which it is believed would be increased should I leave this city to-morrow as I intended; I am obliged to lay that aside, and therefore your Lordship will please to proceed as you shall judge proper with the army under your command, as in the present circumstances I cannot possibly have the pleasure of joining you.

MAJOR-GENERAL STRODE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Belfast, February 22. 1760.

My Lord,

I beg leave to acquaint your Grace, that last night, at seven o'clock, Lieut.-Col. Jennings, of the 62d regiment, which I have the honour to command, together with four companies were made prisoners of war at Carrickfergus. And this morning about eight o'clock a flag of truce came into town, and made a demand of the several articles undermentioned, to be delivered this day at two o'clock, promising to pay for them *, and threatening in case of refusal to burn Carrickfergus, and afterwards to come up and burn this town also: — with which demand the gentlemen of Belfast thought it best to comply.

About five or six hundred of the country militia have come to town to-day, but are very ill provided with arms, and have great scarcity of ammunition; though I spared them part of what I had.

I am informed the French lost about four or five at Carrickfergus, and our people about three or four.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM STRODE.

* A list of stores is inclosed.

1760.

MARQUESS OF TAVISTOCK * TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, February 27. 1760.

My dearest Father,

I cannot thank you enough for sparing a moment from all the business which this descent of the French must have engaged you in, to let me hear from you. I am in hopes so trifling a force will not wait your arrival, but that General Strode will be able, at least, with his five companies and the militia, to retaliate the affair of St. Caz upon them, especially as in this country they give us a most despicable account of Thurot's equipment; and I think it can be no affront to the Irish nation to believe all their accounts extremely exaggerated, if not entirely false. I have, however, the comfort to think that if your presence should be necessary (which I hope in God it will not), the men you command will I am certain do their duty. I am very sorry that four companies should be made prisoners, but as I am ignorant of the circumstances, I am in hopes it is not owing either to want of spirit or conduct. I hope this will find all at the castle in perfect peace and quietness, and that so trifling an attempt will not have alarmed in the least my mother and sister, whose quiet I am the most concerned for.

Believe me, &c.

F. T

* Only son of the Duke of Bedford.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. SECRETARY PITT.

(Separate.)

Dublin Castle, March 2. 1760.

Having in my letter to you of the 23d of last month, mentioned that Lieut.-Col. Jennings with four companies of Major-General Strode's regiment under his command, had suffered himself and them to be made prisoners of war in the castle of Carrickfergus, which was the best account I could then give you in consequence of the only accounts I had then received relating to that affair from Major-General Strode, I think it incumbent on me, in order that no aspersion may be thrown on that gentleman's character as an officer, to inform you, that upon the strictest inquiry I have made into it, from the Earl of Rothes and other officers who have since been upon the spot, to declare that no man could have made, with the small number of men under his command, a gallanter or better judged defence of any place, under the circumstances he was in, than Lieut.-Col. Jennings did, and that had he had 150 men more with ammunition sufficient (which was not the case), he would undoubtedly, in my opinion, have preserved Carrickfergus, which though he did not succeed in, he was undoubtedly, under God, the cause of preserving Belfast from pillage, and saving the loss of at least 100,000*l.* to his Majesty's subjects, that town having had at least to that value in linen goods and

money. The very soldier-like behaviour of this gentleman, obliges me in justice to give this ample testimonial of his merits on that day, and to recommend him, on that account, to his Majesty's future favour in promoting him to a lieutenant-colonelcy in an older regiment.* 1760.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. SECRETARY PITT.

Powerscourt, March 24. 1760.

I was on Thursday last honoured with your letter of the 13th instant, inclosing to me that very extraordinary one (not to give it a harsher name) of Mr. Haven the sovereign of Belfast to you.[e] The assertion in it, of no arms having been put into the hands of any Protestant in that part of Ireland since the commencement of the present war, is most manifestly false, I having denied them to no one Protestant gentleman who has asked for them, as has been candidly confessed in the House of Commons, even by those very gentlemen who have been most adverse in parliament to my administration; and it is very remarkable, that this very

* Thurot set sail again, after the capture of Carrickfergus, taking with him the Mayor and two other gentlemen. But the Duke of Bedford having given intelligence of his departure to Captain Elliot, a brother of Sir Gilbert Elliot, who commanded some frigates at Kinsale, that gallant officer went to sea, and falling in with the French squadron captured the whole of them, after an action in which Thurot was killed.

1760. gentleman who, in his letter to you of the 22d of last month, taxes me and my predecessors with so shameful a neglect, had never applied to me, and was indeed unknown to me even by name at the time the letter was wrote. I leave it, Sir, to your judgment to determine whether so insolent and so unprovoked an attack upon his Majesty's lieutenant of this kingdom, shall not receive from you such a check, as may prevent the like impertinencies to me, and trouble to you for the future.

SECRETARY PITT TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Private.)

St. James's Square, April 19. 1760.

My Lord,

My office letters will acquaint your Grace that I lost no time in laying before the King your Grace's desires with regard to the Lords Justices; and which, from his Majesty's reliance on your Grace's views for his service, and from the known merit of the subjects in question, could not fail to meet with the royal approbation; it is with great satisfaction that I congratulate your Grace on your approaching return by the middle of next month into his Majesty's presence, after so successful a conclusion of affairs in Ireland; at which time it will be a very sensible pleasure to me to assure your Grace in person, that I shall ever esteem it a

real honour to merit in any degree your Grace's approbation. 1760.

I am, &c.

W. PITT.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Dublin Castle, April 29. 1760.

My dear Lord,

The packet due this day arrived last night at eleven o'clock; and I think it better to send your letters by Foster the messenger, who I hope will be with you before you go to bed to-night, rather than wait for the post to-night. He will attend your Grace's commands, and bring back any orders you may have.

I enclose your Grace copies of letters which I received last night from Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Wood. I hope from Sharpe's letter that it is not quite impossible but some bills may be returned to us by the end of this week: the minutes of yesterday will show your Grace that we adjourned till Friday on that account. By Wood's letter and its enclosure, you will perceive the measure of Lord George's (Sackville) fate is not yet full. I take for granted he will be expelled the House of Commons.* When

* "Well, the big week is over! Lord George's sentence, after all the communications of how terrible it was, is ended in proclaiming him unfit for the King's service. Very moderate, in comparison of what was intended and desired, and truly not very severe, considering what was proved."—*Walpole's Letters*, vol. iv. p. 40.

1760. he went there, he went smiling up to the Speaker, who made him a very cold bow, and turning to his son, who was standing by him, said, "Is that man mad to come to this place?" The Vice-Chamberlain has been with him to forbid him the court, and also to Lord Bute and Sir William Irby to acquaint them of his message.

There are no events stirring in this place; if any occur worth your Grace's notice, you shall have immediate intelligence of them. The mercy which you extended to the dragoons yesterday was received with the loudest acclamations: the poor devils, by all accounts, were real penitents, and the secret was incomparably kept.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Pall Mall, May 28. 1760.

I write to your Grace to avoid being suspected of negligence, rather than to inform you of any occurrence whatever, for I never knew this town more barren of events. I have been to court to-day, and was most graciously received both by the monarch and the courtiers. I have not seen the King look so well these many years; he enquired much after you, as did the Lady, both after your Grace and the Duchess. There are no mi-

nisters to be seen. Mr. Pitt is in his bed with the gout; Lord Holdernesse in Yorkshire with his militia; and the Duke of Newcastle at Claremont, where he stays till Friday morning, when I propose seeing him. I hear your Grace is to be received most graciously, and it is hoped that you will be as well pleased with the ministers as they with you. 1760.

I saw Lady Betty yesterday at Lord Gower's; they are both in perfect health and beauty.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Kensington, June 27. 1760, past three o'clock.

I would not stay for the Extraordinary Gazette to send your Grace the great news which arrived here this morning, that the siege of Quebec was carried, all the enemy's frigates there burnt, thirty-two pieces of heavy cannon taken, and ten field pieces. The French retired to the place from whence they came, and their whole force said to be reduced to 5000 men. I see by Murray's* letters, that he thinks their affairs quite over in that part of the world. I send your Grace Mr. Hunter's note. I most sincerely congratulate you upon this great and most seasonable good news.

* General Murray, a brave and adventurous officer, who when governor of Minorca was forced to surrender to the Spaniards in 1782.

1760.

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PONSONBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Dublin, June 30. 1760.

My Lord,

I beg your Grace will pardon the liberty I take, in troubling you upon a subject which is of the utmost consequence to me and my family.

Lord Harrington having some time ago wrote to Mr. Clements that he wished to sell his employment of Comptroller of the Customs in this port, Mr. Clements mentioned it to me; and I wrote to some of my friends in London, to say that if you should be pleased to approve of Lord Harrington's resignation, I should be glad of this employment upon the terms which he had proposed to Mr. Clements, who told me that he declined it. Lord Harrington and my friends have accordingly agreed upon the terms; but as his lordship's patent runs during pleasure only, the favour I would entreat from your Grace is, that this patent (through your Grace's most powerful interest with his Majesty) may be granted to a friend of mine for my use during the lives of my three sons, William, John, and George.

As this is matter of the highest importance to my family, I must take the liberty of entreating your Grace's protection upon this interesting occasion.

I am, &c.

William Ponsonby.

1760.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. PONSONBY.

Stratton Park, July 25. 1760.

Dear Sir,

I received but two days ago your letter of the 30th of last month, which the Earl of Bessborough sent down to Mr. Rigby at this place. I write by this post to inform his lordship that I am told the Earl of Harrington does at present decline the parting with his employment, upon the answer I gave to his letter to me, intimating his desire of doing so, that I could not move the King to grant his successor, whoever he should be, a larger term than what his lordship had; and that I hope neither his lordship nor you will think I could, with any propriety, move his Majesty to grant an employment now held during pleasure only for a term determinable on three lives, after the many favours I have so lately obtained for his subjects in Ireland, and more especially as I know that the granting employments for lives is very disagreeable to him.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Newcastle House, July 19. 1760.

My dear Lord,

I had the honour of your Grace's letter of the 11th; and as I am always happy to obey your

1760. commands, I have this day executed them with the King in the manner which I hope will be to your satisfaction. I did not understand that I was to lay the particular recommendations before the King. I had no paper left with me by your Grace; I only took heads: so all I could do was to read these heads to the King. The enclosed is what I took down, and I acquainted his Majesty that I had really forgot the names of the Lords who were to be promoted to be Earls. The King very readily consented to every person your Grace shall propose; and his Majesty was so willing to give the Irish pensions, that indeed I did not trouble him with naming the three or four last. I think myself very happy in having thus succeeded in what your Grace was desirous that I should name first to the King. The Spanish Ambassador dines at Claremont on Wednesday next the 18th: had I imagined your Grace intended to be in town at that time, I should sooner have desired the honour of your Grace's company that day at Claremont to meet the Spanish Ambassador. I shall be infinitely obliged to your Grace, and it will do me a particular favour, if you will come.

I am, &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.*

* Promotions, Peerages, Places, and Pensions, agreed to by the King, July 16. 1760.

Peers to be promoted.

Lord Mornington to be created an Earl.[a]

[a] "May 1. Mr. Trevor Hill was with me to make his request that his son-in-law, Lord Mornington, may be made an Earl."

1760.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, September 8. 1760.

Mr. Calcraft has sent to Lady Betty by this post all the intelligence which has arrived from Germany. I was at court, where all the ministers were, and all I could learn was a confirmation of what he has wrote. The Duke of Newcastle showed me the King of Prussia's own letter to the King upon his victory, where the story was veryprettily and modestly told. Here is a Prussian officer come who was in the battle. His Majesty seemed in prodigious health and spirits.

I have heard no other events of any sort. It is thought Lord Ligonier will not get over his illness; and Will. Kepple, who is field officer in waiting, told me he had set his heart upon your Grace's having the first regiment of Guards. I went from

Lord Ludlow to be created an Earl.

Lord Farnham to be created a Viscount.

Lord Russborough to be created a Viscount.

Peers to be created.

Sir Thomas Taylor to be created a Baron.[b]

Mr. Cole, a Baron.[c]

Mr. Browne of Westport, a Baron.[d]

Mr. Holmes of the Isle of Wight, a Baron.[e]

Privy Councillors to be made.

Earl of Drogheda.
Lord Farnham.
Sir William Fownes.
Benjamin Burton, Esq.

Mr. Attorney-general to be Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

Mr. Solicitor-general to be Attorney.

Mr. John Gore to be Solicitor-general.

Mr. Anthony Foster to be Counsel to the Commissioners.

[b] Created Baron Headfort.

[c] John Cole, created Baron Mountflorence.

[d] Baron Monteagle.

[e] Created Baron Holmes.

1760. court to Holland House: Mr. Fox, Lady Caroline, and Lady Sarah pay their respects to you on Wednesday, and propose staying till Monday.

The Duke of Newcastle has desired me to call at Newcastle House to-morrow morning; I dare swear he has no business with me, and that a quarter of an hour's conversation is the sole purpose. I shall go to Mistley afterwards. No business of any sort by the post from Ireland to-day.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD BARRINGTON.

Woburn Abbey, October 1. 1760.

I inclose your Lordship an extract of a letter I received but yesterday from my son, of so old a date as the 21st of last month, it having been sent to Chatsworth, where he believed me to be. It relates to a plan we have long thought of—inoculating, during the course of this winter, as many of the men as shall be willing to undergo that operation. As very few of your countrymen have had that distemper, the giving it them by inoculation seems to my son and me a work of private charity and humanity to those we wish well to, and at the same time of utility to his Majesty's service; as the battalion will, I hope, be rendered by it exempt from a distemper which is often more fatal to a young one than the fatigues and hazards of the severest campaign. I must submit the reasonableness of my

son's request to your Lordship's judgment: all that I can add to it is, that I do entirely approve of it; and that if we do succeed in the application now made, that all care shall be taken to give no umbrage to the town where our battalion shall be quartered of spreading the distemper amongst them; but that separate and lone houses shall be taken, as well for the preparing and inoculating the men, as for the airing them after they shall have got over the distemper. The weather is now grown so wet, that I hope to hear soon of all the camps breaking up. 1760.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

THE LORDS JUSTICES, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, LORD SHANNON, THE SPEAKER, TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Dublin Castle, November 7. 1760.

My Lord,

No packets are arrived yet from England since Friday the 31st of October, on which day we received by express from your Grace the notification of the death of his late Majesty.*

The fermentation which a general election must always occasion is already begun; and we think it incumbent upon us to lay before your Grace our

* George the Second died on the 25th of October, between seven and eight in the morning.

1760. thoughts with regard to the time that it may be most fit for his Majesty's service and the welfare of the country, to dissolve the present and to re-issue the writs for the calling of a new parliament.

We are persuaded that your Grace will be of opinion that this great work should be begun and ended as soon as possible. If it is long delayed, the animosities will of course increase every day, and the whole country would become a scene of idleness and riot. Another consideration has occurred to us, which we think is of no small weight. Your Grace has had some experience of the difficulties which the appointment of sheriffs brings upon the government in times less interesting than the present; and it is our wish, in order to avoid the infinite trouble as well as the imputation of partiality to which we must be exposed, that the present sheriffs, of whom it cannot be said that they are made to answer any private purposes, should transact that business, which we think may be done, if your Grace should approve of the method; and from this moment no time should be lost in carrying it into execution.

If we can receive from your Grace his Majesty's commands for dissolving the Parliament any time before the end of the month (though every day gained will be of advantage), we can immediately proceed in council with the legal form of a bill, and transmit it to your Grace, and may hope to receive it again, returned under the great seal from England, before the 20th of December at latest; the writs may then be issued immediately, and the forty

days in which they are returnable will be expired before the 12th of February, until which day the present sheriffs may legally continue to act. 1760.

We have conversed with many of his Majesty's principal servants, and other persons of the first weight and distinction upon this subject in general, and they are all of the same mind in recommending expedition, and no one more strongly than my Lord Chancellor; and with regard to the particular method and time, which we here submit to your Grace, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Attorney-General are now with us, and are of opinion that it is, without objection, and upon all accounts the most desirable.

We are, &c.

GEORGE ARMAGH.
SHANNON.
JN. PONSONBY.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, December 19. 1760.

This morning, according to his Grace's present custom, I was sent for to Newcastle House. The business which he had with me was upon the letter your Grace wrote to the Treasury the other day for a temporary King's letter for the payment of the pensions, &c. in Ireland, until new esta-

1760. blishments for that kingdom shall be prepared and signed by the King. West * had misconceived the meaning of your Grace's letter, and raised objections and difficultes, which I obviated to the Duke of Newcastle; and the King's letter is preparing, and I hope will be signed before the holydays, in consequence of your letter.

When this matter was settled the Duke of Newcastle opened himself very freely, and enlarged very much upon his present situation at court. I think he told me in terms it was such as he could endure but a very short time longer; complained of the very little weight he had in the closet, and of the daily means used to let him have as little in the ensuing Parliament. That the Whigs were given up in many parts of England,—a thing impossible for him to submit to, whilst at the head of the Treasury. He named three instances to prove this assertion. The first was the order for the dock at Portsmouth to be permitted to vote as they pleased, to which a private order is annexed for them all to vote for Steuart; the second was the turning out Lord Powis from his lieutenancy of Shropshire to make way for Lord Bath; and the third was the removing certain persons in South Wales, who have long had the management of elections in that part of the world: I conjecture his Grace meant Mr. Gwynne, who is now member for Radnor, where Lord Carnarvon is sent down with pretty large

* James West, Esq., one of the Secretaries of the Treasury.

powers ; and Sir M. Philips' support in Pembroke- 1760.
shire against Sir Wm. Owen. He added, that
when he asked an explanation of these and other
matters the constant answer was, the King had
ordered it so: which he allowed to be a very
sufficient one; but that he hopes to be forgiven if
he first remonstrates and then submits as long as
he thinks it consistent with his honour to do so,
but that the time is drawing near when he can no
longer. That he was to know from Lord Bute
upon what terms he was to remain where he is,
and a meeting was to be had between them to settle
it; but that meeting had been put off from day to
day, and was now put off *sine die*. He ended with
telling me that his remaining at court depended
upon the behaviour of two persons only, the Dukes
of Bedford and Devonshire. They had advised him
to accept the Treasury under the young King: if
they would support him with spirit he would re-
main there, but not as a cipher in the closet. Their
Graces could never intend that he should be so
when they gave him their advice to accept, and
therefore he thinks he has a right to expect their
assistance against his becoming one, when on his
own part he desires to leave them two only for
judges if he aspires at taking too much upon him-
self. I take for granted his Grace meant all this
should be conveyed to you. I have done it as well
as my memory would permit.

The young Dux * found his borough of Brackley

* Duke of Bridgewater.

1760. in high good humour with him, and anxious for his recommendation; he drank some of that good old port which you remember till three in the morning with them.

Poor Admiral Boscawen is relapsed, and thought to be in the greatest danger.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, Monday, Dec. 22. 1760.

The Duke of York's family, I hear, is fixed, and composed of Lords Howe, Carpenter, and Macduff; grooms, Brudenell, West, and *Harry St. John.* The equerries are fixed also; but I know nothing of them, nor will I absolutely vouch for the truth of the others.

In the House of Commons Mr. Pitt moved for the money for the Russian treaty; said very little, but magnanimous ally and the Protestant cause. Legge said less, but seconded him. Sir Francis Dashwood spoke a little, but to the purpose, and of the *considerations;* and remained unanswered, and so we voted the money, and adjourned. If the author of the pamphlet * was in the gallery, and wanted conviction that his arguments were unanswerable, he had it to-day to his satisfaction.

* Probably "A Vindication of the Conduct of the present War;" a pamphlet published at this time by Tonson. It is reviewed in the Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1760.

I was not at court to-day myself, but am told by those who were there that Dr. Lucas* was presented to the King, and gave his Majesty two papers and a pamphlet; I suppose addresses from the free citizens. 1760.

I have sent Lord Clanricarde's original letter to Mr. Fane of the Council Office; but the direction will be necessary, for it is addressed to nobody, and his lawyers will plead that it was never intended for your Grace. The plea will be overruled to be sure, but if the direction is not destroyed it will be better. Indeed, he owned the letter to Fitzgerald in Ireland, but denied the publication of it.

Mr. Deputy Ulster and Munster shall have his horses when I go to Mistley, which I hope to do by midsummer next.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

(Private.)

I have seen a letter from Lord Kildare, which says that he shall be for transmitting a money bill, and would have signed the letter from the Privy Council here had he been a member of it. He adds, that he thinks the present government

* Among the letters is a very long one from Dr. Charles Lucas to the Duke of Bedford, detailing the state of his case; his chief complaint being that "it was determined by some in power that he should be cut off by an outlawry," to prevent his being elected member for Dublin. Dr. Lucas was a very noisy declaimer, who usually began his speeches by saying, "of all the days of my life this is the proudest," &c.

1760. not proper to appease the heats of the country, as your Grace is very unpopular, and those about you are suspected of evil designs against the country.

RIGHT HON. HARRY FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Pay Office, December 30. 1760.

My dear Lord,

I send your Grace those letters received by the post last night from Lord Kildare; and I trouble you with the whole of them, as I think an abstract would not so well enable your Grace to make a judgment of the state of things in Ireland. It appears that Lord Kildare acts from principle honestly and firmly, yet with great candour and firmness towards those whom he opposes. And it appears, too, that this plot is contrived and the flame raised entirely by the Lords Justices (though, indeed, I don't know how far Lord Shannon is engaged in it). What a compliment the Irish Lords make to all the ministers who did sign the letter, by the stress they lay on Pitt's not signing it! I am glad to find that the Chancellor and other principal councillors are yet untainted; I think, too, that those who are ill-inclined, if they see the Primate struck out of the council as well as removed from the regency, will think twice before they incur the displeasure of a government which then, and not till

then, they will believe in earnest. The delay is not only in order to play tricks there, but to try to mollify and manage here, and perhaps yield, to get the power of doing more mischief. The council should meet on January 12th: Chancellor, First Lord Justice, and his Grace, not of the council. These are my politics, which your Grace has a right of knowing, such as they are, from your Grace's, &c. 1760.

H. Fox.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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